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THE ÆSTHETIC INFLUENCE OF NATURE.

The Soul in Nature ; with Supplementary Contributions. By
HANS CHRISTIAN OERSTED. London : Henry G. Bohn.
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THE aspects of a country always impress themselves upon the soul of man, and awaken both his reason and his imagination. His reason is awakened by the observation of the relations and the changes in matter which indicate the operation of different forces. The super-position and the other relations of the strata of the earth's crust, suggest to the mind interesting problems as to the genetic origin of the earth, the solution of which constitutes geology. The vast multitude of stars scattered in such varying groups throughout illimitable space, and presenting such different combinations and appearances; and the motions of the solar system in the different orbits, and the eccentric wanderings of the comets: all appeal to the inquiring mind and present to it complicated problems which promote the development of mathematical thought, and result in the sublime generalizations and deductions of astronomy. The manifold differences and resemblances in the vegetable kingdom interest the mind, and excite a desire to conquer the diversities and bring them into the unity of a system; and thus the science of botany is built up. The unceasing mutations of combination and decomposition, ever taking place in the material of the telluric

world, present to the reason those phenomena which classified and resolved make up the science of chemistry. And so every portion of the material world is constantly presenting to the mind of man problems of thought which it is his greatest delight and his noblest employment to solve; thus developing within him powers of reason of which he would otherwise be altogether unconscious.

Just as the contemplation of the agencies, which are employed by nature in producing the transformations of matter, develops the reason of man, so does the contemplation of the beautiful forms, which cover the surface of the earth, awaken his imagination. The beautiful scenery of nature impresses us with the sense of an unseen spirituality, and the imagination, kindled by the inspiration which breathes from the forms of beauty, weaves the poet's dream and gives to nature the charms of fancy. And the man of science, after he has traced with laborious steps the mysterious forces by which the earth is formed, dwells in imaginative contemplation on the scenes of beauty spread out upon its surface. The most impressive book which has been given to science in this age, is the fruits of the impressions made upon the mind of the author by the peculiar aspects of the earth at the spot where he was born. *The Foot-prints of the Creator* would never have been written, if Hugh Miller had not been born on the *Old Red Sandstone* of Scotland. The profound scientific reasonings of that book were suggested by the facts written on the stones; and the exquisite delineations of scenery with which here and there the argument is adorned, were impressed upon the imagination of the author by the beauty of the locality where his young eyes first beheld the charms of nature. And no man is more fully aware of the influence which particular localities exert on the mind, giving direction to the thoughts, than Mr. Miller himself. In the dedication of his first work on geology, *The Old Red Sandstone*, to Sir Roderick Murchison, the author of the *Silurian System*, he says:—

“Smith, the father of English geology, loved to remark that he had been born upon the Oolite—the formation whose various deposits he was the first to distinguish and describe, and from which, as from a meridian line of the geographer, the geological scale has been graduated on both

sides. I have thought of the circumstance when, on visiting in my native district the birthplace of the author of the *Silurian System*, I found it situated among the more ancient fossiliferous rocks of the North of Scotland, the lower formation of the Old Red Sandstone spreading out beneath and around it, and the first-formed deposit of the system, the great conglomerate, rising high on the neighboring hills. It is unquestionably no slight advantage to be placed, at that early stage of life, when the mind collects its facts with greatest avidity, and the curiosity is most alive, in localities where there is much to attract observation that has escaped the notice of others. Like the gentleman whom I have the honor of addressing, I too was born on the Old Red Sandstone, and first broke ground as an inquirer into geological fact in a formation scarce at all known to the geologist, and in which there still remains much for future discoverers to examine and describe."

As we pass along the delightful pages of both *The Old Red Sandstone* and *The Foot-prints*, and see how sentiment is commingled with reasoning, we feel that the philosopher is thinking amidst the associations of the boy. On the scenery which overlays and surrounds the Old Red Sandstone, the delighted eyes of the boy had often dwelt before those profound truths had emerged from the rocks beneath to animate the reason of the philosopher. His young spirit had often rejoiced amidst the sweet influences of the beauties of nature. The first morning after he had, when a boy, begun his toils in the stone quarries, we find him rejoicing in the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and refreshing his soul by the suggested sentiments:

"All the workmen (says he) rested at mid-day, and I went to enjoy my half hour alone on a mossy knoll in the neighboring wood, which commands through the trees a wide prospect of the bay and the opposite shore. There was not a wrinkle on the water, nor a cloud in the sky, and the branches were as moveless in the calm as if they had been traced on canvas. From a wooded promontory that stretched half way across the frith, there ascended a thin column of smoke. It rose straight as the line of a plummet for more than a thousand yards, and then, on reaching a thinner stratum of air, spread out equally on every side, like the foliage of a stately tree. Ben Nevis rose to the west, white with the yet unwasted snows of winter, and sharply defined in the clear atmosphere, as if all its sunny slopes and blue retiring hollows had been chiselled in marble. A line of snow ran along the opposite hills; and all above was white, and all below was purple. They reminded me of the pretty French story in which an old artist is described as tasking the ingenuity of his

future son-in-law, by giving him as a subject for his pencil, a flower-piece composed of only white flowers, of which one half were to bear their proper color, the other half a deep purple hue, and yet all be perfectly natural; and how the young man resolved the riddle, and gained his mistress, by introducing a transparent purple vase into the picture and making the light pass through it on the flowers that were drooping over the edge. I returned to the quarry, convinced that a very exquisite pleasure may be a very cheap one, and that the busiest employment may afford leisure to enjoy it."

Thus did the surrounding scenery cheer and strengthen the heart, and kindle the imagination of the boy, until his reason unfolded so as to discern the great geological truths, that at once converted his field of labor into a field of science; and the laboring man became a philosopher. And now that he is a philosopher, the æsthetic aspects of nature exert as powerful an influence over his feelings and imagination, as the profound truths, which come up from the bosom of the earth, do over his reason, giving a brilliancy to his writings that constitutes half of their charm. For what can be more refreshing than those occasional sketches of scenery, with which he enlivens us along the path of scientific inquiry? The imagination descends from its brighter realm, to adorn the solid structure reared by reason.

Baron Humboldt is another striking example of a mind deeply susceptible to natural scenery. Hear what he says of himself:

"I would not, however, omit calling attention to the fact, that impressions arising from apparently accidental circumstances often, as is repeatedly confirmed by experience, exercise so powerful an effect on the youthful mind, as to determine the whole direction of a man's career through life. The child's pleasure in the form of countries, and of seas and lakes, as delineated in maps; the desire to behold southern stars invisible in our hemisphere; the representation of palms and cedars of Lebanon as depicted in our illustrated bibles, may all implant in the mind the first impulse to travel into distant countries. If I might be permitted to instance my own experience, and recall to mind the source from whence sprang my early and fixed desire to visit the land of the tropics, I should name George Forster's *Delineations of the South Sea Islands*, the pictures of Hodge, which represented the shores of the Ganges, and which I first saw at the house of Warren Hastings in London, and a colossal dragon tree in an old tower of the Botanical Garden at Berlin."

The curiosity awakened in the mind of Humboldt by these causes, led him to navigate almost every sea, and to traverse the most striking portions of the earth—from the gorgeous Alpine tropical landscapes of South America, to the dreary wastes of the steppes in Northern Asia. He was thus led to see more of the earth, than any one of the thousands of millions who have dwelt upon it. From his own individual experience, he has been enabled to delineate a scientific picture of the world. Amidst all his toilsome travels and tedious scientific observations and instrumental experiments, the refreshing influences of the beauties of natural scenery animated his heart, and fired his imagination in the pictures after pictures presented by the earth, the ocean, and the sky. It was not the mere cold curiosity of the man of science, with his books and his instruments, that led him over the earth. Reason alone never did and never can induce any man to undertake such a pilgrimage, nor could it sustain him amidst its toils. The feelings and the imagination, roused by what has been seen, and by what is anticipated, give to man his power in all his greatest enterprises and his noblest works. Humboldt gives us occasionally in his *Cosmos*, glimpses of the pleasing and refreshing influences which the aspects of nature shed upon his mind.

“In reflecting (says he) upon the different degrees of enjoyment presented to us in the contemplation of nature, we find that the first place must be assigned to a sensation, which is wholly independent of an intimate acquaintance with physical phenomena presented to our view, or of the peculiar character of the region surrounding us. In the uniform plain, bounded only by a distant horizon, where the lowly heather, the cistus, or waving grasses deck the soil; on the ocean shore, where waves, softly rippling over the beach, leave a track green with the weeds of the sea; everywhere the mind penetrated by the same sense of the grandeur and vast expanse of nature, revealing to the soul, by a mysterious inspiration, the existence of laws that regulate the forces of the universe. Mere communion with nature, mere contact with the air, exercise a soothing yet strengthening influence on the wearied spirit, calm the storm of passion, and soften the heart when shaken by sorrow to its inmost depths.”

Here we see Humboldt, in his eightieth year, remembering with joy, and recording in the last book he expected to give to the world, the exquisite delight which the beauties of

nature, in his wanderings over the earth, awakened within his soul. He has devoted a long life to the cultivation of the physical sciences, and when he presents, at its close, the picture of the universe which these sciences have delineated before his mental eye, he chastens and sublimates that picture by the mellowing hue of the feelings awakened by the æsthetic aspects of nature. The pleasures of the imagination mingle with the satisfactions of reason. The joys of the heart cluster around the monument which the intellect has reared, to adorn and to hallow it.

Having shown the æsthetic influence of the material world upon the minds of two living men distinguished, not in the province of sentiment, but in the colder domain of science, we can, with confidence, proceed to the consideration of the same influence upon nations, where the aggregates of minds are swayed in the same way, by the peculiar features of the countries they inhabit. If we had begun our argument with the consideration of nations, as perhaps the more systematic treatment of the subject requires, it might have been obnoxious to the charge of the vagueness of generality. But having shown, by strong individual examples, that man is powerfully influenced by the æsthetic aspects of the scenery which surrounds him, we establish it as a sure principle of human nature, which must come into play in the history of nations, and determine many of their peculiar characteristics.

Let us now turn our attention to that country which stands the most distinguished in ancient history for its æsthetic culture.

The history of Greece opens with scenes of the imagination; with myths and legends. How did all these myths and legends originate? What made the Greeks conceive and cherish and preserve such works of the imagination? One cause must be sought in the peculiar features of the country. Of all parts of Europe, Greece is amongst the most remarkable for its mountains, hills, and valleys. There are no plains anywhere. It is the very home of seclusion and mystery. Every stream that flows through the cleft of a mountain brings to the imagination some story of the region beyond. Mountains and hills, and not rivers, make barriers between tribes of

early settlers in a country. Each tribe knows all within the horizon of its own valleys; but beyond, all is fiction. The myths and legends originated in the mystery which hangs over a country thus shut up in valleys by mountains and hills. They are the stories of an unlettered and imaginative age, current amongst a people which the poets of a later period elaborate, amplify, and adorn.

But it was not only this peculiar configuration of the country which heightened in the Greeks the mythopoeic propensity common to all nations in the earlier ages of their history, which caused the Greeks to invent so many myths; but the myths, as will be presently shown, originated in the direct contemplation of nature.

In the contemplation of nature, there are three stages of progress, the mythical, the poetical, and the scientific. The mythical is in the earliest ages of society, when all things address themselves to the feelings and the imagination, and men do not discriminate between the fictions of the imagination and the perceptions of reason, as is exemplified in the mythology of nations. The poetical is, when men do distinguish between the fictions of the imagination and the perceptions of reason, but yet blend them together in their views of nature for the sake of effect; as is exemplified in poetry. The scientific is, when men look at nature with the cold eye of reason, uncolored by the feelings; as is exemplified in the physical sciences.

It is the mythical stage which we are considering: when marvels and prodigies are believed in; when the feelings and the imagination are almost the only faculties of the mind that are exercised; when there is no such thing as recorded facts, no such thing as positive science, no such thing as a critical standard for testing any kind of truth; when all that is called knowledge is but the natural, unconsidered effusions of the unlettered, imaginative, and believing man. It is in this state of mind that those myths and popular stories originate which constitute the earliest intellectual stock of every people. And they are believed in, not as fictions, but as realities.

Of all the nations of the earth, the Greeks had the greatest

number, the most consistent, and the most beautiful myths and legends. And they originated from the direct contemplation of nature. The personages who figured in them were personified physical powers. At the earliest period of their history, the Greeks had no idea of any invariable sequences in nature. They supposed that all the operations were carried on by the habitual agency of intelligent and voluntary beings. In no other way could they account for the physical phenomena which they saw around them. From this view of nature, their gods, their giants, and their superhuman persons originated.

There is in the mind of man an imaginative, personifying sympathy. It is most strongly manifested in the earliest stages of society. Amongst the Greeks it was almost unbounded, because of their singularly active imaginations. They personified almost everything in the material world. The greater operations of nature they conceived to be carried on by the agency of the superior gods, whom they confounded and identified with the departments of the physical world. And the minor operations of nature they ascribed to inferior agents.

"The great Olympic gods," says Grote in his history of Greece, "were in fact only the most exalted amongst an aggregate of quasi-human or ultra-human personages,—dæmons, heroes, nymphs, eponyms (or name-giving), genii, identified with each river, mountain, cape, town, village, or known circumscription of country."

"The extensive and multiform personifications here faintly sketched," continues Grote, "pervaded in every direction the mental system of the Greeks, and were identified intimately both with their conception and with the description of phenomena, present as well as past. That which to us is interesting as the mere creation of an exuberant fancy, was to the Greek genuine and venerated reality. Both the earth and the solid heavens (Gaea and Uranos) were conceived and spoken of by him as endowed with appetite, feeling, sex, and most of the various attributes of humanity. Instead of a sun such as we now see subject to astronomical laws, and forming the centre of a system of changes which we can ascertain and foreknow, he saw the great god Hêlios mounting his chariot in the morning in the east, reaching at mid-day the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the western horizon, with horses fatigued and desirous of repose. To us these appear puerile though pleasing fancies; but to a Homeric Greek they seemed perfectly natural

and plausible. In his view the description of the sun, as given in a modern astronomical treatise, would have appeared not merely absurd, but repulsive and impious. Even in later times, when the positive spirit of inquiry has made considerable progress, Anaxagoras and the other astronomers incurred the charge of blasphemy for dispersonifying Hêlios, and trying to assign invariable laws to the solar phenomena. Personifying fiction was in this way blended by the Homeric Greeks with their conception of the physical phenomena before them, not simply in the way of poetical ornament, but as a genuine portion of their every-day belief."

We see then, how, in the infancy of the human mind, the external world acts upon the feelings and the imagination of men. The reason is almost unexercised. The feelings and the imagination control all the beliefs. The material world is believed to be constituted of actual personages of both sexes, masculine and feminine, according as the influences are stern or gentle. Olympus and Parnassus and Helicon, each had its own myths, corresponding in some degree with its respective features. Olympus was the peculiar abode of the gods, Helicon of Apollo and the Muses. The physical aspects of the mountains differed accordingly. Olympus was rugged and cloud-capped upon its cold peaks. Helicon was sylvan and full of fountains and grottoes. And Arcadia, lying shut up in its clusters of valleys amidst pastoral seclusion, was the scene of all those stories of rural sentiment which the imaginations of the Greeks invented.

The myths and legends of Greece became a permanent part of Grecian literature. They were embodied in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and thus became immortal. The Greeks were placed in peculiar social and political circumstances for developing and preserving their myths and legends. Never were so many independent communities clustered together in so small a territory. They were cut off from much intercourse with each other, by the barriers of mountains and inaccessible hills; and they were equally secluded from the rest of the world. From these causes, the Greeks were the most exclusive and self-dependent people who have attained high position in history. The entire transition of the Greek mind from its earliest dawn was accomplished by its own inherent powers, with but comparatively little aid from foreign culture. From the poetry of Homer to the philoso-

phy of Plato and Aristotle, there is little else than unaided Greek thought. One thread of thought and of feeling, and that entirely Hellenic, runs through the whole. The mythical ideas which were the spontaneous effusion of the early Greek mind, impressed by the aspects of nature, were transmitted and transfused into the poetry, the history, the theology, and the philosophy of the mature Greek intellect, and constituted more or less of the opinions of the wisest men. This was the case with no other people who have attained a place in history. The Teutonic and Celtic populations of Europe had their mythology. The Hindoos and Persians have theirs; and so have most, if not all nations. But what is imperfectly exhibited in them, is clearly manifested in the Greeks. We may, therefore, use the Greek civilization as the true natural type of human progress distinctly marked at each stage, and constituting an example from which we can reason in regard to man in general.

Such, then, is the character of the first stage in the contemplation of the material world. We see how its æsthetic aspects overpower the mind, and subordinate reason to the feelings and the imagination. To this the poetical stage succeeds.

When positive science, with its cardinal idea of invariable sequence, begins to supplant the notion of the agency of voluntary beings everywhere present performing the operations of nature, the personifications become mere poetical fancies. Reason takes the reins of the intellectual progress, and the feelings and the imagination assume their proper functions in the mental economy. Then, the æsthetic aspects of nature exert no more than their proper truthful influence upon the feelings and the imagination. The poetical takes the place of the mythical.

It is true that poetry, as an art, may exist long before the mythical age passes away, and the myths themselves become subjects of poetry; as is shown in Homer and Hesiod. But this does not preclude the distinction between the mythical and the poetical contemplation of nature. Because there is surely a difference between believing that the personifications of nature are actual persons, and that they are mere poetical

fancies. Though poetry therefore may exist in the mythical age, still the poetical contemplation of nature does not; because, as yet, the personifications of nature are believed in as real persons, and not as mere poetical fancies. When the personifications become mere poetical fancies, then the poetical stage of contemplation has been arrived at.

The remainder of our inquiry will proceed through the poetical stage of the contemplation of nature. This stage of contemplation never passes away. Nations and individuals always contemplate nature poetically, no matter how far science has progressed. Science never can disenchant nature of its poetical expression. Poetry will flourish in the feelings of men in contemplating nature, as long as nature shall wear its present aspects. It is then only *logically*, that the poetical and the scientific stages of contemplating nature succeed each other. The mythical passes away entirely before the poetical succeeds, but the poetical continues through the whole period of the scientific. Even at this time of inordinate scientific contemplation, nature still awakens poetic fancies in the imaginations of men. The man of science, no less than the poet, realizes the fact in his own experience; as we have seen in Miller and Humboldt. We shall, therefore, in the remainder of our inquiry, consider ourselves as within both the poetical and scientific stages of the contemplation of nature, and shall say nothing more about the distinctions which we have been illustrating.

Let us then return to Grecian civilization, and mark the transition from the mythical to the poetical contemplation of nature, and see how the aspects of nature continued to impress the Greek mind throughout its literature.

As the history of Greece opens with scenes of the imagination, so does its literature open with poetry. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the foundations of the literature of Greece. They moulded the whole of Grecian thought, the oratory, the history, and the philosophy. And sculpture and painting were inspired by the masterly delineations of the Homeric poems. The chariots, the armor, the sacred vessels, the persons of the heroes and heroines, and the gods and goddesses are described with such accuracy, and are conceived in such

ideal perfection, that the Greek mind, at a later period, could not but reproduce them in the arts of sculpture and painting.

Now, nothing is more manifest in the Homeric poems than the influence of the aspects of nature. It is true, that the Greek mind was directed more towards the realities of active life than towards the phenomena of nature, and therefore the description of natural scenery did not become a distinct branch of poetry; but the epic, the lyric, and the dramatic, in which human actions and passions are described, were the kinds of poetry in which the Greek mind manifested itself. In these kinds of poetry descriptions of natural scenery occur only as incidental accessories and not as special creations of the imagination. But then, the very deepest sense of the beauty of nature is manifested by these incidental descriptions thrown into the most animated scenes of human action. What, for example, can show more susceptibility to the aspects of nature, than the bringing into the most stirring scenes of the *Iliad* natural imagery, to illustrate and heighten the spirit of the narrative? The mind of the poet, smitten and inspired by the strongest sympathy in contemplating human actions, and striving after the most impressive modes of expressing its feelings and its thoughts, seizes upon striking scenery and objects in nature, and makes them the vehicle of conveying its own fires, to kindle a conflagration in the bosoms of others. This is manifested throughout the Homeric poems. Who does not recollect, at once, that beautiful natural imagery which is employed to heighten the description of the camp fires of the Grecian host before the walls of Troy?

“As when about the silver moon,
when air is free from wind,
And stars shine clear, to whose sweet beams
high prospects and the brows
Of all steep hills and pinnacles
thrust up themselves for shows,
And even the lowly valleys joy
to glitter in their sight;—
When the unmeasured firmament
bursts to disclose her light,
And all the signs in heaven are seen,
that glad the shepherd's heart.”

In this impressive description, besides other things, the effect of the scene upon the shepherd's heart is depicted; thus showing that the humblest rejoiced in the beauty of nature. This one passage from the Iliad would be quite sufficient to show the great power of natural scenery in firing the imaginations of the Greeks. But we will now cite an instance, which, more than any other, shows the profound sense of the beauty of natural scenery felt by the Greeks. In that masterpiece of artistic conception, the shield of Achilles, many of the ornaments wrought upon it by divine art are natural scenery.

“Next this, the eye, the art of Vulcan leads
Deep through fair forests, and a length of meads;
And stalls and folds, and scatter'd cots between,
And fleecy flocks, that whiten all the scene.”

If natural scenery had not a particular charm for the Greek mind, no such representation as this would have been depicted on this fabric, simulated to have been made by a god. And what is more, the crowning conception of the work was borrowed from nature. The last ornament which was to throw a glory over the whole, was the ocean flowing around the shield in mimic life.

“Then the broad shield complete the artist crown'd
With his last hand, and pour'd the ocean round,
In living silver seem'd the waves to roll
And beat the buckler's verge and bound the whole.”

We have said, that in Greek poetry natural imagery is used only as an incidental accessory; yet there are instances where it has been introduced for its own sake. In the catalogue of the Grecian ships, engaged in the Trojan war, given in the second book of the Iliad, the States of Greece, to which the ships respectively belonged, are described by the peculiar aspect of their scenery. We would quote all the instances, if the warmth of our comments could give life to them: but as they would, like transplanted flowers, lose their lustre, we shall cite but two.

Arcadia is thus described:

“Where, under high Cyllené, crown'd with wood,
The shaded tomb of old Æpytus stood ;
From Ripé, Stratie, and Zezea's bordering towns,
The Phemean fields, and Orchomenian downs,
Where the fat herds in plenteous pasture rove,
And Stymphelus with her surrounding grove,
Pharrhasia on her snowy cliffs reclin'd,
And high Enispé shook by wintry wind.”

This description, as well as all the others, are considered so characteristic, as to show that Homer was intimately acquainted with the scenery of each country.

The country of Syloemenes' command is thus described :

“Where Erythinus' rising cliffs are seen,
Thy groves of box, Cytorus ! ever green ;
And where Ægylalus and Cromna lie,
And lofty Sesanus invades the sky ;
And where Parthemenes roll'd through banks of flowers,
Reflects her bordering palaces and towers.”

Here then are descriptions of natural scenery thrown into the Iliad, because of its impression upon the mind. And so many descriptions, in immediate succession, are given, as to show that the fancy could range over them all, with the same delight that the eye beholds the aspects of the countries described. A dry catalogue of the number of ships from each country, instead of being dull, like the report of a secretary of the navy, is made intensely captivating by the various pictures of nature. The descriptions were as delightful to the Greeks, as the narrative of the warlike actions of their heroes.

Every reader of the Odyssey is familiar with the beautiful descriptions of natural scenery scattered through it. In the fifth book, the grove near Calypso's grotto, “where even an immortal would linger with admiration, rejoicing in the beautiful view,” cannot but touch the sensibilities of every cultivated mind. And who has forgotten the description of the garden of Alcinous in the seventh book, where all the beauties of spring, the luxuriance of summer, and the richness of autumn are mingled together into one never-failing scene of rural charms ?

The Homeric poems carried this sensibility to the beauties

of nature down through the whole of Grecian literature. It is manifested in the deepest tragedies of the great dramatists. In the gloom of the darkest and saddest scenes, descriptions of natural imagery, soft and bright, are sometimes presented, to heighten the tragic effect, by the contrast between the repose of nature and the frenzy of passion. As, for example, when the fated *Œdipus*, the victim of a mysterious passion, is represented by *Sophocles* in the midst of "the verdant gloom of the thickly mantling ivy, the narcissus steeped in dew, the golden-beaming crocus, and the hardy and ever fresh-sprouting olive-tree."

But it is not in the tragic poets only that the delineations of natural scenery is given. In the comic dramatists, instances are given in burlesque that are remarkable for truthfulness, individuality, and distinctness; showing with what keen sensibility the poet had felt the scenery of nature. In the "*Clouds*" of *Aristophanes*, where the approach of the chorus is described, there is one of the most truthful delineations of clouds in connection with the landscape to be found in all literature. And though the clouds are personified, yet they are kept within the similitude of nature. They are still clouds moving in a hill country.

"Fly swift, ye clouds, and give yourselves to view!
Whether on high Olympus' sacred top,
Snow-crown'd, ye sit, or in the azure vales
Of your father Ocean sporting weave
Your misty dance, or dip your golden urns
In the seven mouths of Nile.

And o'er the mountain's pine-capt brow
Towering your fleecy mantle throw:
Thence let us scan the wide-stretch'd scene,
Groves, lawns, and rilling streams between,
And stormy Neptune's vast expanse,
And grasp all nature at a glance."

None but an accurate and delighted observer of nature could have written such a description. It was the comingling of land and sea, of hills and hollows and ravines in the landscape of Greece, that had often presented to the im-

imaginative sympathy of Aristophanes the picture of clouds descending and rising, sometimes revealing and sometimes obscuring the scenery of the earth and the ocean. And when he was ridiculing the science of the Sophists, which attempted to explain the nature of clouds, though all is done in a spirit of comedy, he yet depicts nature as she lay pictured in his memory. He gives a Grecian landscape of clouds. It has the individuality of a hill country surrounded by an ocean visible everywhere.

We see then, that in the fiery narrative of the great epic, in the deep pathos of the tragic muse, and in the mimic spirit of comedy, a sense of beauty to the aspects of nature was ever present to the Greek mind.

Our investigation has already brought us far into the era of the scientific observation of nature by the Greeks. And here again, the susceptibility to the æsthetic aspects of nature is manifested. The very word which the Greek philosophers used to express world (*cosmos*) showed their sense of the beauty of nature. The word means ornament, and shows that it was the beauty of nature which moulded their conception of its character. Their imaginative sympathy, rather than their reason, was awakened by the contemplation of nature. And the reader of Plato knows with what vivid hues of the imagination he has colored all his remarks upon the physical world. And even Aristotle, the most scientific and coldest observer amongst the Greeks, could thus speak of nature :

"If they could suddenly behold the earth, and the sea, and the vault of heaven ; could recognize the expanse of the cloudy firmament and the might of the winds of heaven, and admire the sun in its majesty, beauty, and radiant effulgence ; and lastly, when night veiled the earth in darkness, they could behold the starry heavens, the changing moon, and the stars rising and setting in unvarying course ordained from eternity ; they would surely exclaim, there are gods, and such great things must be the work of their hands."

We have now seen that, after the mythopoeic age had passed away, and poetry, and history, and philosophy had become civilizing influences, the æsthetic aspects of nature still awakened the imaginative sympathy of the Greeks. The

peculiar hill scenery, together with the bright and cheerful aspect of the sea visible from every part of Greece, could not but exert a powerful influence on the minds of the inhabitants. In no country is inland and maritime life more entirely blended. The Greeks dwelt upon the sea as well as upon the land. Their history is full of maritime expeditions. The Argonautic expedition of Jason in search of the golden fleece, was one of a thousand heroic adventures by sea which make up the legendary history of Greece. And the Trojan war, the greatest of all these expeditions of the heroic age, together with the subsequent wanderings of Ulysses by sea and by land, the first celebrated in the *Iliad* and the second in the *Odyssey*, shows how much of the sea the Greeks must have seen. And, besides these voyages of chivalrous adventure, stimulated by imaginative sympathy and a love of daring, commerce led the Greeks to maritime life. They planted colonies, and widened the limits of their home. All this gave animation to life, enlarged the range of thought, and imparted to it more various hues. The sacred ship that made an annual voyage to the island of Delos to bear votive gifts to the temple of Apollo, carried with it the common sentiments of Greece, to cluster around the distant island. In all these voyages, so full of romance, the minds of the voyagers were peculiarly conditioned for noting the æsthetic aspects of the sea. And it is manifested in the poetry of the Greeks. The aspects of the sea, whether in tempest or in calm, are depicted in all their individuality. Old Æschylus saw, as we now see, smiles in that play of light on the dimpled face of a calm sea, and has thus expressed it:

"The countless playful smiles
Of ocean's waves."

Æschylus has passed from the earth for more than two thousand years, and yet nature is the same. His mind gladdened at the same aspect of the sea that now pleases us. Nature does not change. Neither does the mind of man. They are bound together in an enduring sympathy.

And there were many causes appealing to the imaginative sympathy which made the Greeks familiar also with the in-

land scenery. Their religion, with its temples built in every state, together with their national festivals, caused the Greeks to travel from their respective homes to so many distant common centres of national sympathy. They, in this way, saw the whole inland scenery. The Greek was, in fact, a charmed life. The beautiful was the ruling influence. In the sacred country of Olympia, where stood the temple of Jupiter Olympus, all the Greeks assembled at festivals. Here was the sanctuary of art. The sacred grove of olive and plane trees on the banks of the river Alpheus was filled with thousands of monuments and statues of the most perfect art, erected in honor of gods, and heroes, and conquerors. In the centre stood the national temple of Olympian Jove, containing the colossal statue of that God, the masterpiece of Phidias. The temple of Juno Lucina, the theatre, and the prytaneum also stood amidst the sacred grove. Here, on this romantic spot, did the universal Greek mind breathe the atmosphere of beauty. With their minds thus fired by the glories of art, the Greeks could the more keenly appreciate the glories of nature.

But it is not only by their literature and art, that the beautiful is shown to have been the ruling influence in the civilization of the Greeks. It is also shown by the political supremacy of Athens. Athens, the peculiar nurse of the arts and of literature, became the ruling power. In this city all the business of life was transacted amidst the halo of beauty. Art and nature cast their mingled charms everywhere and over everything.

In a plain, surrounded on three sides by mountains, and by the sea on the fourth, Athens was built all around the hill of the Acropolis, round towards the mountains, but chiefly towards the sea; and upon this hill were built the glories of architecture. At the entrance of the hill were the temples of the guardian deities of Athens. On the left was the temple of Pallas and of Neptune; on the right rose far above every thing else the glorious Parthenon, the pride of Athens, with its colossal statue of Minerva by Phidias. At the foot of the hill was the Odeon and the theatre of Bacchus, where the immortal dramas were performed. At a little distance was the

hill upon which the Areopagus held its sessions; and also the hill of the Pnyx, where the people met to deliberate upon public affairs. And thousands of other monuments of art were scattered over the city.

Every ship, as it approached the city, could behold from afar the splendors which crowned the Acropolis. And from the Acropolis could be seen the two peaks of Hymettus on the east; Pentelicus, with its quarries of white marble, on the north; to the north-west the Citheron was seen at a great distance, rising above smaller mountains; and Lauricum, with its silver mines, lay to the south-east, almost at the end of the peninsula. And towards the south-west the eye could sweep over the harbors and Saronic bay, with the islands of Salamis and Ægina, as far as the lofty citadel of Corinth.

Here then, amidst the glories of nature stood Athens with her glories of art. It was in the order of history, that the beautiful should triumph over the useful in Greek civilization. It was the decree of providence that Athens should rule, and not Bœotia.

"Athens the fair, where great Erectheus sway'd,
That ow'd his nurture to the blue-eyed maid."

In the Trojan war, Bœotia stood at the head of the states in the catalogue of the ships. It was then the wealthiest and the most populous of the Greek States. But in it material interests predominated. In the fifth book of the Iliad, when Oresbius the king of Bœotia is slain, Homer gives the character of the people:

"Oresbius in his painted mitre gay
In fat Bœotia held his wealthy sway,
Where lakes surround low Hylé's watery plain,
And prince and people studious of their gain."

How different would have been the history of Greece, if Bœotia, and not Athens, had become the ruling power—if avarice, and not imaginative sympathy, had become the chief element in Greek civilization! Like Tyre and Carthage, Athens would have had her merchant princes, but not her

poets, orators, historians, philosophers, sculptors, and painters. And her wealth would have perished, and, not like her works of thought, have survived for the use of all succeeding generations of men.

In the discussion of our subject, we pass in the order of history from Greece to Rome. There was much less of enchantment in Roman than in Grecian life. The Romans were a much less imaginative people than the Greeks. From causes which are hidden in the unknown history of races, and which no sagacity can penetrate, the Romans were much duller in their emotional nature. Their imaginative sympathy was not so easily quickened, nor after it was quickened was it so overmastering in controlling all the intellectual operations. But still, the Romans were far from being an unimaginative people. Their earlier history is laid in fabulous stories full of romance. The ballad-poetry which embodied many of these stories, and which Cicero wished so much had been preserved, wholly perished. The great mirror then, which reflected the imaginative period of Roman life, has been lost. But yet, the stories which have been set forth in the narrative of Livy, as real history of the earlier times, show that the Romans were full of imagination and sentiment, at a period of which we now only see the tints on the horizon of history. The foundation of the eternal city was laid in romance. Romulus and Remus, nursed by a she-wolf, were its founders. The rape of the Sabine women; the nightly meetings of Numa and the Nymph by the well in the sacred grove; the fight of the three Romans and three Albans; the crime of Tullia; the simulated madness of Brutus; the wrongs of Lucretia; the heroic actions of Horatius Cocles, of Scævola, and of Cloelia; the battle of Regillus, won by the aid of Castor and Pollux; the story of Coriolanus, the war which he kindled against his country, the subsequent struggle of his feelings, and the final triumph of his patriotism at the intercession of his mother; the sad story of Virginia, with many others, have come down to us, giving a glimpse of the period when imagination ruled the thoughts of the Romans.

As the Romans were a much less imaginative people than the Greeks, this alone would prevent them from expressing

in their literature as much sympathy with nature. But there were other causes also which contributed to this result. The very origin of the Roman people forbids us to expect, that the aspects of nature would influence their imaginations as much as they did the Greeks. The Greeks were from the earliest times divided into many tribes, inhabiting contiguous but separated territories. The Romans, at first, possessed only a single village. And it was by the incorporation of foreigners and their territories with this original district, that the Roman nation was gradually formed and consolidated. There was no ancient nationality adorned with legends of heroic exploits of a common ancestry, extending back into the twilight of fable, associated with different localities, to animate that great Rome, the mistress of the world. She could look back with but little sympathy to that petty Rome, which beleagured the little town of Veii for as many years as Agamemnon did Troy. The Roman pride of country was wholly centred in that great Rome, pressing on to universal conquest under the terrible standard of the eagle.

From this constitution of the Roman territory, the aspects of nature would not exercise so powerful an influence upon the minds of the people, as if, like the Greeks, they had from the first been one race, inhabiting many districts of various aspects, associated with their earliest memories. And the old Romans were too, in their habits, an inland rural people. They did not, like the Greeks, mingle inland and maritime life together. And therefore, they did not note with that intimate sympathy the aspects of nature, which familiarity with the contrast between land and sea always awakens. Still, however, though their earlier literature, which was the spontaneous outpourings of their inward feelings and outward observations, has been lost, we shall find in the literature which has come down to us, as well as from their habits of life detailed in history, that the Romans had a genuine sympathy with the æsthetic aspects of nature.

In examining the literature of the Romans for the purpose of finding evidences of the manner in which their minds were impressed by the aspects of nature, the poem of Lucretius *Concerning the Nature of Things*, at once arrests attention.

In this poem, an attempt is made to explain the processes of nature and the origin of things. It is in fact a didactic poem of science. It cannot therefore be adduced so much as an example of the influence of the æsthetic aspects of nature upon the feelings and the imagination, as it can as an example of the influence of the phenomena upon the reason. The poem, however, abounds in powerful pictures of nature and the noblest poetry; and shows how nature can rouse the imaginative sympathy of the poet, even when his purpose is rather that of the philosopher.

The writings of Virgil, of Horace, and of Ovid, are so familiar to scholars, that we shall not attempt to adduce from them examples of sympathy with the aspects of nature. Throughout the writings of each of these poets, a lively sensibility to nature is manifested. The same power of description, or the same deep sympathy with nature, is not manifested, which is to be found in the Greek poets; but still we can see that, like all true poets, they felt the harmonies of nature. And besides the writings of these poets, their lives show that they loved the scenes of nature. They all dwelt much amidst rural scenery, round about the hill country of Rome. The villas of the educated Romans at Tusculum and Tibur, at Misenum, at Puteoli and at Baiæ, show how much the Romans delighted in the mild influence of rural shades. And none more than the great orator and statesman, Cicero, delighted in converse with nature.

"The consideration and contemplation of nature," says he, "is a sort of natural food of our minds and our understandings. We stand erect, we seem to become more elevated, we despise human things, and meditating upon these superior and celestial things, we condemn our concerns as trifling and little."

He was born on the Volscian hills, and his manly mind retained to the last a love for the scenery of nature which had moulded the feelings of the boy. When he wished "to give himself up to meditation, reading, and writing," he retired to one of his villas either at Tusculum, Arpinum, Cumæa, or Antium. In one of his letters to Atticus, he says:

"Nothing can be more charming than this solitude—nothing more

charming than this country place, the neighboring shore, and the view of the sea. In the lonely island of Asturia, at the mouth of the river of the same name, on the shore of the Tyrranean sea, no human being disturbs me; and when early in the morning I retire to the leafy recesses of some thick and wild wood, I do not leave it till evening. Next to my Atticus, nothing is so dear to me as solitude, in which I hold communion with philosophy, although interrupted by tears. I struggle as much as I am able against such emotions, but as yet I am not equal to the contest."

What can be more interesting than such an insight into the character of so eminent a man as Cicero? His heart, tried in the calamitous affairs of his country, still softened into tenderness amidst the gentle influences of the aspects of nature. And much of that grand thought, so nobly expressed in his philosophical writings, is but the growth of those germs of mingled feeling and reason, which the surrounding scenery of his own native hills kindled in his soul.

We have now seen how the aspects of nature influenced the minds of the pagan world—how Greece and Rome were impressed by that same face of nature which we now behold. A new order of ideas will now enter into our investigation. The current of European civilization, at this point, receives a new stream of thought. The Jewish and the Christian writers bring in their ideas to influence the minds of men in their views of nature.

It may seem a bold proposition, but yet we do not hesitate to make it: That modern science rests upon the great cardinal ideas of nature which were brought into European thought by the Jewish Scriptures. The Jews, as well as all the other Semitic nations, were distinguished for their broad, contemplative consideration of nature. The grand notion that the universe was created by one personal God, in a regular order of phases adapted to each stage of an ultimate purpose, which is presented as the first thought in Jewish history, is a truth so profound and so necessary to a proper apprehension of the phenomena of nature, that it stands as the first condition of all the interpretations and reasonings of modern science. This great scientific truth is written all over the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The current of physical thought bears it all the way through, from Genesis

to Revelation. It is never lost sight of. The Jewish mind, therefore, always looked upon the universe as the work of God, as a scheme of powers and processes invented by a designing mind, to show forth his own glory, and to minister to the comforts and the delights of his creature, man. The Jewish view of nature was, therefore, entirely phenomenal. Its secrets could only, in their view, be known by observation. There was no transcendental process by which you could evolve from the depths of human reason a knowledge of physical truth. Look at the clear ideas of scientific observation presented in the 36th, 37th, and 38th chapters of the Book of Job; and see how like modern ideas are the views of nature presented in the Psalms. All these clear conceptions are dependent upon the cardinal notion, that the world was created by a personal, intelligent God, for a special purpose.

These physical ideas were brought into European thought by Christianity; and after they had become fixed notions of the European mind, and the pagan view of nature had faded away, the germs of a real science, which had grown up on the same ideas in the mind of the Arabs, another Semitic nation, were brought into Europe and engrafted on that basis of ideas which the Europeans had derived from the Jews. That the Arabs are the founders of physical science in the modern sense is quite clear. And that their success in interpreting the processes of nature better than the Greeks did, was owing to those Jewish or Semitic views of nature, which we have indicated, is evident to our minds. Although, therefore, the accomplishments of modern civilization, with its style of literature, are for the most part derived from the elegant culture of the Greeks and Romans, yet its science is based in those cardinal physical ideas which have been derived from the Jews.

With these cardinal scientific ideas came also from the Jews a far nobler poetic contemplation of nature than that manifested in Greek and Roman literature. Where, for example, can anything at all comparable with the 104th Psalm be found in all Greek and Roman literature? The poetic contemplation of nature in this psalm is founded upon the ideas of creation contained in the first and second chapters of Gen-

esis; and so is the whole physical imagery of all Hebrew poetry. The sublime imagery of Job, the beautiful imagery of Solomon's Songs, the imagery, mingled of the sublime and the beautiful, of the Psalms, are but the physical realities of nature poetically contemplated; and there is no poetry in the world so full of natural imagery as that of the Jews. Nature is one continual source of poetic inspiration. This results from the Jewish view of nature. Everything is considered as the work of one God, who presides with a parent's sympathy over all he has made. Nature is his work and his servant. It ministers to the comforts and the delights of his child and creature, man. And God is continually renewing and refreshing the vegetable world, with his rains, his dews, and his sunshine. He takes care of his little flowers. He clothes them in exquisite beauty.

Theological ideas come to the aid of the natural impressions which the external world makes upon the mind, and kindle up that glowing sympathy with nature everywhere expressed in Hebrew poetry. The inanimate objects of nature thus come to be considered as the fellow-creatures of man. And they are all personified as having life and feeling, and rejoicing in existence, and praising their Creator. But they are never deified. They never rise higher in the personifications than as messengers and servants of the Creator. They are never endowed with any supernatural or divine character. The sun is spoken of as the messenger and the servant of the Creator, and in the 19th Psalm is represented as a bridegroom; but he is never contemplated as the great god Hélios, as amongst the ancient Greeks. The personifications of Hebrew poetry never rise above the attributes of man and woman. The view of nature as the work of one God, who, as a spirit, exists separate and above nature, ever guarding it as the home of his creature, man, and the beauty of which had been spread out to delight man, at once precluded any such idolatrous and deifying view of nature as that presented in Greek poetry. Hebrew poetry, therefore, in its personifications, brings nature home to the bosom of man. It endows the objects of nature with human attributes. The majesty of man and the grace of woman is

seen in those objects which respectively impress us with the characteristic of the one or the other. This is the view taken of the objects of nature when they are considered in their human relations; but when they are considered in their relations to the Creator, they are considered as expressive of his attributes or of his power. The thunder is represented as his voice, and the whirlwind as his anger. And so his more gentle attributes are considered as exemplified in the dews and the warm breath of spring. But never is nature deified, as in Pagan literature.

Its profound sensibility to the aspects of nature, and its peculiar character of personification, have been transferred from the literature of the Jews into that of modern Europe. We shall find that the style of contemplating nature in modern literature is entirely Biblical. Let us take a survey of this literature. The first that meets us is the Italian.

He who may be considered as the founder of modern Christian literature, as distinguished from the Pagan, is the poet Dante. His great poem, which treats of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, at once shows us that we are in a new era of thought. A new range of ideas prevails over the contemplations.

In this poem of Dante, though the most spiritual in all literature, there are frequent descriptions of real scenery in nature, and throughout the whole poem a profound and exquisite sense of the beauties of nature is manifested.

The life of Dante was exceedingly peculiar. He lived in the spiritual world more than in the natural. His own heart was the chief domain of his contemplations. Smitten when a youth with an all-absorbing love for the Florentine girl, Beatrice, who was torn from him by death, he brooded forever after over her idealized image. The future, rather than this world, became the subject of his thoughts, the home of his affections; and, from the fact that Beatrice is introduced in so singular a way at the very threshold of the poem as to make it appear that the peculiar introduction was framed with the sole view of introducing her thus early into the immortal work, it would seem that she was the muse who inspired the great song. Burns celebrated Mary in Heaven

by a simple ode. Dante has celebrated Beatrice in Paradise by a grand epic. The whole poem is planned with reference to her agency in it. And it is beyond question that the song assumes a new style, the numbers run in a liquid sweetness that shows that the poet's heart is touched with uncommon pathos whenever Beatrice is present. And whenever she herself becomes the theme of the song, the poet, to use his own words, seems

. "Like to the lark
That, warbling in the air, expatiates long,
Then, trilling out his last sweet melody,
Drops, satiate with the sweetness."

Though treating of the spiritual world—Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise—Dante's imaginative sympathy led him to bring into his poem the most imposing and the most captivating natural imagery. The deep shades of the dismal scenery of nature are brought into it, to cast a grander horror over the dolorous regions of hell. At the opening of the fourth canto, the poet describes himself as awakened from a profound sleep, by "a crash of heavy thunder." And now he first beholds

. "the lamentable vale,
The dread abyss, that joins a thunderous sound
Of plaints innumerable. Dark and deep,
And thick with clouds o'erspread, his eye in vain
Explored its bottom, nor could aught discern."

In the ninth canto there is a description of natural scenery, with all the individuality of nature, that is remarkable for its condensed energy. The spirit of the scenery is admirably portrayed in the style of the poetry.

"And now there came o'er the perturbed waves,
Loud-crashing, terrible, a sound that made
Either shore tremble, as if of a wind
Impetuous, from conflicting vapors sprung,
That 'gainst some forest driving all its might,
Plucks off the branches, beats them down, and hurls
Afar; then onward passing, proudly sweeps
Its whirlwind rage, while beasts and shepherds fly."

Sometimes the beautiful scenery of nature, which the agonized sufferers had seen on earth, is retraced by memory, to give a new woe to their exceeding torments.

"One drop of water now, alas! I crave.
The rills that glitter down the grassy slopes
Of Castino, making fresh and soft
The banks whereby they glide to Arno's stream,
Stand ever in my view."

Thus the beauties of nature and the terrors of nature are both depicted, to give a transcendent horror to the amplitude of woe spread out all around.

Descriptions of natural scenery occur much oftener in the Purgatory than in either of the other parts of the poem. In the opening of the twenty-eighth canto, the forest of the terrestrial Paradise is described.

. "A pleasant air
That intermitted never, never veered,
Smote on my temples, gently as a wind
Of softest influence: at which the sprays,
Obedient all, leaned trembling to that part
Where first the holy mountain casts his shade;
Yet were not so disordered but that still
Upon their tops the feathered choristers
Applied their wonted art, and with full joy
Welcomed those hours of prime, and warbled shrill
Amid leaves that to their jocund lays
Kept tenor; even as from branch to branch
Along piny forests on the shore
Of Chiasi rolls the gathering melody
When Eolus hath from his cavern loosed
The dripping South."

In the Paradise there is but little natural imagery. In the thirtieth canto, however, from the beginning to the close, there is much beautiful description. A river of light is described as flowing through the scene.

. "I looked,
And in likeness of a river I saw
Light flowing, from whose amber-seeming waves
Flashed up effulgence, as they glided on

'Twixt banks on either side painted with Spring,
Incredible how fair; and, from the tide,
There ever and anon, outstarting, flew
Sparkles instinct with life; and in the flowers
Did set them, like rubies chased with gold:
Then, as if drunk with odors, plunged again
Into the wondrous flood; from which, as one
Re-entered, still another rose."

In Italian literature, Petrarch, next after Dante, claims our attention. From his earliest childhood he manifested extraordinary sensibility to the charms of nature. When a boy, he went with a party to see the beautiful valley of Vaucluse. As soon as he beheld the landscape, he exclaimed: "Here, now, is a retirement suited to my taste, and preferable, in my eyes, to the greatest and most splendid cities." It might have been anticipated that one charmed by nature at so early an age would show it in whatever of imaginative thought he might give to the world. But such an anticipation has not been realized. Like many men of exalted imaginative sympathy, he was, at an early age, brought under the spell of that sentiment which often rules the most finely fashioned minds with uncontrollable sway. In the church of St. Clara, in the city of Avignon, Petrarch for the first time saw Laura, dressed "in a green mantle, sprinkled with violets, on which her golden hair fell plaited in tresses." She made an instant impression upon his heart, which cast over his whole subsequent life the disastrous gloom of a hopeless love. His mind was thus turned, at an early period, from the sensuous to the emotional world. His poetry was circumscribed in its range, because of the fixed gaze of his poetic eye upon the idol who ever sat enthroned in the horizon of his imagination. We therefore meet in his poetry but little evidence of sympathy with nature. But his life shows that he retained to the last the deepest sensibility to nature. He spent many years in the solitude of the beautiful valley of Vaucluse, to assuage, by the gentle influences of its exquisite scenery, the sadness of his hopeless love. In his letters from this rural seclusion he often speaks of his pleasures amidst the scenery. And, in his frequent visits to

different countries, he noted with delight the aspects of nature. In a letter from Naples, to Cardinal Colonna, he gives a description of the scenery about Baia that shows how it impressed his imagination.

"I was rejoiced," says he, "to behold places described by Virgil, and, what is more surprising, by Homer before him. I have seen the Lucerne Lake, famous for its fine oysters; the Lake Avernus, with waters as black as pitch, and fishes of the same color swimming in it; marshes formed by the standing waters of Acheron, and the mountain whose roots go down to hell. The terrible aspect of this place, the thick shades with which it is covered by a surrounding wood, and the pestilent odor which this water exhales, characterize it very justly as the Tartarus of the poets. There wants only the boat of Charon, which, however, would be unnecessary, as there is only a shallow ford to pass over. The Styx and the kingdom of Pluto are now hid from our sight. Awed by what I had heard and read of these mournful approaches to the dead, I was contented to view them at my feet from the top of a high mountain. The laborer, the shepherd, and the sailor dare not approach them nearer.

"I have seen the ruins of the grotto of the famous Cumæan Sybil; it is a hideous rock suspended in the Avernian Lake. Its situation strikes the mind with horror. There still remain the hundred mouths by which the gods conveyed their oracles; these are now dumb, and there is only one God, who speaks in heaven and on earth. These uninhabited ruins serve as the resort of birds of unlucky omen. Not far off is that dreadful cavern which leads, it is said, to the infernal regions."

In all ages natural scenery like this has impressed man with notions of infernal regions. And the poets have always borrowed from such scenery their descriptions of the place of future torments. Sir R. Murchison, on a geological visit to the boracic lakes of Tuscany, was so impressed by the dolorous mutterings of the subterranean vapors bursting upwards from the burning depths, that he said, in his account of the scene: "If the intensely hot vapor-gusts which have issued for centuries from cavities in the rocks of the Tuscan Maremma had been as well known to Dante as they were to Targioni Tozzetti, their graphic describer in the last century, the great poet would surely have selected them as a finer illustration of infernal agency than the feeble 'bullicami of Viterbo.'" The Tuscans have always associated these lakes with the infernal regions.

Just as horrid scenery impresses the mind with thoughts of

hell, so does beautiful scenery impress it with sentiments of heaven. All are acquainted, by hearsay at least, with Loch Lomond, the beautiful lake of Scotland. The devoted missionary, John M'Donald, wrote in his diary, which has been published: "I took an opportunity of visiting Loch Lomond, and was exceedingly delighted. O, how sweet and tranquil was the bosom of the lake! I thought of the peace of God, that passeth understanding." Many an imaginative visitor has made a similar exclamation.

Thus it is that the scenery of nature, in its different aspects, impresses man with sentiments that correspond with those religious doctrines on which his destiny hangs. It stirs his soul to its inmost depths. The horrors which it awakens, leads his imagination on to the dolorous regions of a future world of woe; and the joyous aspirations which lovely scenes inspire, lead the imagination to scenes of surpassing beauty in a future world. The poetry of woe and the poetry of joy, may thus find their inspiration in the scenery of Nature.

We now approach the age of physical discovery—the age when those vast maritime enterprises brought the knowledge of the whole earth, and the exploration of the celestial spaces brought the knowledge of the whole heavens, before the eye of man—the age of Columbus and of Copernicus. These two great men were endowed with the very highest imaginative sympathy. They both looked, with the eye of the poet, no less than of the geographer and the astronomer, over the vast fields of their discoveries. The old mariner was stirred to his inmost soul by the beauty of the new countries which he discovered.

"The beauty of the new land (says he) far surpasses the *Campina de Cordova*. The trees are bright with an ever-verdant foliage, and are always laden with fruit. The plants on the ground are high and flowering. The air is warm as that of April in Castile, and the nightingale sings more melodiously than words can describe. At night the song of other smaller birds resounds sweetly, and I have also heard our grasshoppers and frogs. Once I came to a deeply enclosed harbor, and saw a high mountain that had never been seen by any mortal eye, and from whence gentle waters flowed down. The mountain was covered with firs, and variously-formed trees, adorned with beautiful blossoms. On sailing up the stream, which empties itself into the bay, I was astonished

at the cool shade, the clear crystal-like water, and the number of the singing birds. I felt as if I could never leave so charming a spot, as if a thousand tongues would fail to describe all these things, and as if my hand were spell-bound and refused to write."

This seems but little like the journal of an old seaman, who had been weather-beaten on many an untravelled track of the ocean. Though it was the thirst for gold and for the riches of commerce, which, to a great extent, led to the prosecution of distant voyages at this period, yet the spirit of adventure and the pleasures of the imagination fired the souls of the great navigators, Columbus, Cabot, and Gama. Theirs was the heroism of maritime life. No mere pecuniary profits were the rewards after which they aspired. But Columbus rose above them all in the plenitude of mind. He was one of the most accurate and discerning observers known to the history of physical discovery; and his warm imaginative sympathy enabled him to depict the objects and the scenery of nature with the pen of a master.

And it was with no cold eye of reason that Copernicus surveyed the heavens. In his system of a central sun, he beheld not only order but beauty.

"By no other arrangement (he exclaimed) have I been able to find so admirable a symmetry of the universe, and so harmonious a connection of orbits, as by placing the lamp of the world, the sun, in the midst of the beautiful temple of nature as a kingly throne, ruling the whole family of circling stars that revolve around him."

It was thus with the imaginative sympathy of a poet, that Copernicus contemplated the heavens embraced in the system that his reason had discovered.

Contemporary with Columbus, lived his friend, Leonard da Vinci, a man at once a great philosopher, scientist, and artist. Reason and imagination both in so exalted a degree were given to him, that it is hard to say, whether philosophy, science, or art was his proper sphere; as he rose above the greatest men in all. He is excelled only by Bacon in the insight into the nature and importance of induction in physical inquiry, and only by Michael Angelo in genius for art. And Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Titian were also

men of this time. So that the sublimest art sprung up and flourished at the very time that those great enterprises of physical discovery on the earth and in the heavens were begun, which laid the foundations of modern science. And Da Vinci showed the harmony between reason and imagination—between science and art—by being himself a master in both. And thus it was that the profoundest scientific views of nature combined with the noblest sentiments of art in the mind of one man, constituted him a fit representative in his time, of that noble civilization which is alike distinguished for the sublimities of science and the glories of art.

We have now arrived at a point in our investigation, where all the literatures of Europe lie spread out before us. We must, on account of the extent of the field and the limits of a review, pass by those of the Continent, and come to the literature of England.

In English literature we shall find the fullest proof of the views which we have been presenting. The noblest works of science stand side by side with the noblest poetry. Bacon is contemporary with Shakspeare, Newton with Milton, Black with Burns, and the noble band of later scientists with the poets who have shed so much lustre upon the present century. And so far from the scientific investigation of nature disenchanting it of its poetic aspects, the poetic contemplation of nature is a characteristic feature in British literature. And whatever may be the opinion of superficial observers, it is manifest that at no time in British history did public taste demand a larger gloss of imaginative beauty upon literary works than now. Even the manly prose of history must be tinged with poetic hues. And in all British science, there is no work near so imaginative, in its coloring, as Miller's *Foot-prints of the Creator*. And this feature in the work has been as much praised by men of science—by Buckland, Murchison, and Brewster—as by the mere literary reader. A new era seems to have dawned upon science. The imaginative splendors which the sublime mind of Bacon saw in prospect, gilding the works of science, are beginning now to shed their lustre. As Bacon's mind became more and more imaginative as he grew older, so does scientific contemplation

become more poetic—imagination lends more aid to reason—as knowledge progresses towards that grand unity, where all the sciences shall flow into one vast expanse of waters mirroring the material universe.

English literature is by far the noblest that has as yet grown out of the history of man. It embodies the highest civilization with which humanity has been ennobled. And there is in it, that, after which we are now seeking—a much profounder sympathy between the spirit of man and the material world, than in any other literature. And so far from this sympathy having a tendency to materialize spirit—to bring it down to the brutishness of matter—it has the most ennobling influence. The grandest spirits have been those who have dwelt most in the contemplation of nature. We shall find, therefore, in the poets of England, a far deeper and more various, and at the same time, more rational imaginative sympathy with nature, than with those which we have passed in review. Not a tinge of the mythopoeic deifying spirit of the ancient pagan literature will be found in their contemplations of nature; but the broad, rational, and truthful spirit of the Jewish physical notions, which modern science has confirmed, pervades it everywhere.

But we must stop here, and be content with these general remarks upon English literature, as we have already exceeded our proper limits. We should also like to make some remarks upon the book at the head of this article; as it treats of topics kindred to those which we have discussed.

ART. II.—THE UNICORN.

THE new and truly improved version of Job, now in course of publication by the Bible Union, suggests the much contested word רֵעַם *Reem*, which we think erroneously translated in most of the versions both ancient and modern. The Septuagint, the oldest of versions, renders the word by μονοχερως ; which was followed by Luther and the transla-

tors of the English version, who translate the word by unicorn; an animal much better known in heraldry, than in zoology. It is fatal to this rendering that the Scriptures never speak of the horn of the reem, but always of its horns, in the plural number. In one instance, in our common version, is the singular *horn* used, but it is italicised, which indicates that it is not found in the original.

Jerome in the Vulgate followed the Septuagint in part, but where the word occurs in Job he rendered it by rhinoceros. The Sanskrit version by the Calcutta missionaries, so far as published, and the Burmese version throughout, adopt Jerome's rendering of rhinoceros. This rendering was probably chosen by Jerome, because though some species have a second small horn, the rhinoceros has ever had the reputation of being a unicorn animal; and the Septuagint translators, it may be presumed, had it in view when they made their translation, as Ephraim Syrus undoubtedly had, when he said of the reem: "It is said to be like an ox, but with one horn, found in the southern regions." The same objection then might be urged against this second rendering, which lies against the first; but what is more decisive is, that the rhinoceros is not found anywhere in Asia west of the Indus. and is confined to the tropics in both Asia and Africa. The reem, being so familiar to Moses, David, Isaiah, and Job, must have existed in Palestine or the neighboring countries. Then the peculiar characteristic of the reem was its horns, and it was these which made it formidable; but this is not true of the rhinoceros. Its horn is small, and less to be dreaded than the horns of a common cow. The Karen name *Tadokhau*, "the great foot," indicates its most striking characteristic. One species has a skin apparently bullet proof, and the Karen specific name is formed from the word designating a shield. I have met them in the jungles, without a moiety of the apprehension from their horns, that I had of the horns of the wild buffaloes which often crossed my path. I recollect pursuing one with a party of Karens for a considerable distance, and a musket ball had not the slightest effect in retarding its progress; so it appeared more like the behemoth, or hippopotamus, than the reem.

De Wette's version has *der Buffel*, the buffalo, and this signification of the word is received by the best critics. Gesenius says in his *Manual Lexicon*, as translated by Robinson: "The species of animal here meant is somewhat doubtful; but we need not hesitate to understand—the *bos bubalus* or oriental buffalo." In his *Thesaurus* he gives the definition without any indication of doubt. Hengstenberg, in his *Commentary on the Psalms*, renders the word by buffalo without note or comment, as if the matter were beyond question. Of American critics, Stuart has buffalo in his *Christomathy*, Noyes the same word in his translations, Robinson contended strongly for it in his edition of *Calmet*, and Barnes, the last writer on *Job* before Conant, advocates the same translation.

This rendering seems to be based on grossly erroneous views of the character of the buffalo. "The oriental buffalo," observes Robinson, "appears to be so closely allied to our common ox that, without attentive examination, it might be easily mistaken for a variety of that animal." The Karens say, a sheep is "a kind of a goat;" and by a parity of reasoning, a buffalo is a kind of an ox; but in no other way. The buffalo with its black and almost hairless skin, "huge horns," and clumsy body, offers a strong contrast to the red hairy skin, short horns, and more elegant appearance of the ox. Europeans in India often call it "the great hog," and its dirty habits of wallowing in the mire, as it does daily wherever it can find a mud hole, assimilate it more to the hog than to the ox.

Barnes says, it is "an animal which differs from the American buffalo only in the shape of the horns, and the absence of the dewlap." It is well known that the American buffalo is not a buffalo, but a bison, and the two differ from each other much more than either from the common ox; and according to modern naturalists, the difference between them is not merely specific, but generic—the buffaloes forming one genus, and the bisons another. The buffalo is not wholly destitute of the dewlap. Swainson says; the buffaloes have "a small dewlap on the breast;" but they differ from the bisons among other things, in having "no hunch on the back," no "very long hairs under the jaws and throat,"

and no mane upon the shoulders. The buffalo, too, has one pair of ribs less than the bison, and is altogether a widely different animal.

Barnes remarks again of the buffalo, that it "has been recently domesticated;" but in the laws of Menu, the great Hindoo legislator whom they identify with Noah, a book supposed to have been written about the time of David, domestic buffaloes are frequently mentioned. It would appear that at that time they were used to draw carts: for in one place it is said: "If a man shall be driving a cart, and his bullocks or buffaloes start and run against a house, he shall not be held in fault. If he run against the steps, let him put up new ones. If he run against the balustrades, let him replace them; there is no fine. If the cart shall not run against the house, but the bullocks, the buffaloes, the yoke, or other things belonging to the cart, there is no fine; nor if a plough shall run against a house."

The buffalo has performed for man, from the earliest historic times, the precise things which the Scriptures tell us the reem would not—"Will the unicorn be willing to serve thee or abide by thy crib?" The buffalo does both as readily as the ox, the horse, or the elephant. "Canst thou bind the unicorn with his band in the furrow? or will he harrow the valleys after thee?" The buffalo may be seen yoked to the plough and harrow in India, as customary as the ox was in Judea. In the Tenasserim provinces, nearly every acre of paddy land is exclusively ploughed and harrowed by buffaloes. "Wilt thou believe him that he will bring home thy seed; or gather it into thy barn?" The buffalo brings all the sheaves from the field on sleds to the threshing-floor, where he treads out the corn; after which the grain is put into carts which the buffalo draws to the barn. The buffalo, though a fiercer animal usually to strangers than the common ox, is perfectly docile with its owner; readily obeying a woman or child that attends it. It will be easily seen that though to render reem by buffalo may pass in Germany, where the buffalo is known only by an occasional stuffed specimen in the museums, yet in the East, where from the Indus to the Irrawady, and from the Sheinam to the Hohan-

gho, it may be seen ploughing and treading out the corn in every cultivated field, and where the missionary has often his baggage drawn by buffaloes, and may sometimes be seen riding in a cart or sled behind one, as I have frequently been; to translate reem by buffalo, were to make the Scriptures ridiculous. Again, if the Hebrew called the buffalo *reem*, then the Arabs would probably designate it by the same name; but in Arabic the buffalo is *jamus*.

When the Hebrew fails, it is legitimate to seek light from the cognate languages, particularly the Arabic; and when the names of the objects of nature are concerned, it is the more to be depended upon, such words being found much less liable to change in allied languages, than those which designate objects of thought. The sun, moon, and stars; day and night; earth, air, fire, and water; mountain, river, and sea; house, ox, cow, camel, sheep, dog, bird, goose, fish, conch, midge, and many objects of the senses, have radically the same names now in Europe, America, and India that they had in the family of Japhet, before the dispersion on the Highlands of Asia. It is so also in the Shemitish languages. By far the larger proportion of the conspicuous objects of nature common to the Hebrews and Arabs, have the same names, with usual dialectic differences, in Hebrew that they have, the present day, in Arabic. Take for instance, the grains and leguminous plants mentioned in the Bible for an illustration, and it will be found in every instance, that the modern Arabic name corresponds to the Hebrews.

An examination of the names of quadrupeds produces similar results.*

Did our limits admit of it, we might present an ample list, showing that in every instance, where a noun exists in Arabic corresponding to the name of a known quadruped in Hebrew, it designates the same animal. The inference then is unavoidable, that in the single unknown instance of the reem, where the two nouns are identical, they designate the same animal. Reem in Arabic denotes a fierce species of

* Dr. Mason has prepared a long list of these, in Arabic and Hebrew, showing their identity of signification.

oryx, an untameable antelope. "Strong, active, and vigilant," says Swainson, "they not only repel the hyæna and the jackal, but can even intimidate the lion. To attack them is indeed dangerous, for if assailed or put on the defence, they raise the tail, couch the ears, toss their heads with a menacing look, and with a tremulous and shrill warning snort, drop their head low between their forelegs, inverting the horns to near the ground, and dart with incredible velocity upon their enemies. From the sharpness of their horns, they are still manufactured into the heads of spears, as in the days of Strabo. The Arabs and other natives of the climates where the animals are found, do not consider them as antelopes, but as species of buffaloes." A careful comparison of all the passages which allude to the animal, with the description given above from a naturalist, who never conjectured probably that it was the fabled unicorn, shows that in every respect the correspondence is precise. It was remarkable, according to our English version, for its strength, or according to Gesenius for its speed; and the oryx is remarkable for both. It could not be yoked up and made to till the soil, neither can the oryx. The strength of the animal was in its horns: and so it is in the oryx. "There was something peculiar in the horns of this animal," and so there is in the horns of the oryx. They are described as very long and spirally twisted; and so adapted for weapons of war, that they have been manufactured into the heads of spears from time immemorial. To complete the correspondence, the reem was associated by the sacred writers with bovine animals; and so the inhabitants of the countries where it is found associate the oryx.

Most translations, our common English version among the number, are more imperfect in the matters pertaining to natural science, than in any other. The reason is, we are dependent for our information on philologists who are not men of science, or on men of science who are not philologists. To insure accurate information, we require residents in the East, well versed in the original Scriptures, thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular dialects, and sufficiently familiar with the natural sciences to discriminate scientifically

genera, if not species. The Hebrew and Greek Testaments contain between seven and eight hundred names of natural productions, found in the countries where the books were written. Michaelis says, "There are upwards of two hundred and fifty botanical terms." These names and terms enter into many thousands of verses, the proper rendering of which depends upon a correct knowledge of the things designated. And how much more lucid and interesting the Bible will appear, if these terms be rightly translated.

Throughout the ancient Scriptures we find constant allusions to the works of nature; and our Saviour in his parables and similitudes continually draws from the natural scenes of earth, that "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world might be clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." But had his hearers been unacquainted with the particular names and properties of the plants or animals to which he referred, they could never have felt as they did, the overwhelming power of his arguments and illustrations. And yet, by some translators, a very considerable proportion of the botanical and zoological names that occur in the Bible are unnecessarily transferred. "Not being a zoologist, botanist, or mineralogist," wrote a distinguished translator, "I have not unfrequently, in disposing of technical terms whose meaning I could not satisfactorily settle, gone the whole animal, plant, or mineral, as the case might be, and transferred it." In this way many words are transferred for which there are good vernacular names, and a native has in his Bible a barbarous word that conveys no idea, while it may be the original designates a flower that is wafting its fragrance within the lattice where he sits reading. This is no fancy sketch. The camphire of the English Bible, the exquisitely fragrant *Lawsonia inermis*, or henna, is rendered in one Indian version by gum camphor, and in another the name is transferred, while the shrub itself is growing by the doors of myriads of native houses in both Indias, and for which there are established vernacular names in every Indian language to which I can refer.

Such transfers always cast a deep shadow over the signification of the passage in which they occur, and sometimes

wrap it in impenetrable darkness. For instance, Christ says to the Scribes and Pharisees, "Ye pay tithe of mint and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith." Here the antithesis can only be seen by a knowledge of the trifling character of mint, anise,* and cummin, yet in one or two Indian versions all these names are transferred, which renders the clause, without a paraphrase, as unintelligible as the English Bible would be with as many Choctaw words in their place. Still nothing could be more unnecessary, for the readers of the versions are nearly as familiar with mint, anise, and cummin, as the people of Europe, and have well established names for them in their language.

In two versions, made several thousand miles apart, the translators transferred the original word for wood-aloes, although the people for whom they wrote were well acquainted with it, and there were good terms in the language into which they were translating by which to render the word; but of both facts the translators were manifestly ignorant.

Rusen Muller was, till recently, the author of the best work extant on the Botany of the Bible, yet his unskilful treatment of the subject sufficiently attests his slight knowledge of the science. His descriptions are ill written, and bring before the eye of the reader no definite picture. They are often, moreover, very defective, giving popular names, as beans and lentils, which are indefinite and applicable to different species, and even to different genera, without the systematic names, which alone are determinate, and enable a translator to render accurately. Occasionally his statements are erroneous. Of agallochum or wood-aloes, he says, "There is a species of this tree that grows in the Moluccas, called *garo*. Linnaeus has described it as *Excoecaria agallocha*." It would perhaps be difficult to find two trees in the whole vegetable kingdom with more opposite properties than these two species. Both are found on the Tenasserim

* I quote the language of the English version, but am well aware that *ανηθον* ought to be rendered *dill*, which it is in the Karen Bible.

coast. *Akyau* is very fragrant, and is agallochum or wood-aloes. The other, *tayau*, is abundant near the sea, the juice of which is said to produce the most intense pain, and often blindness, if it enters the eye. From its power to produce blindness, the Karens call it the *Blau-mai*, or blind tree; and the natives are so much afraid of it, that I have sometimes found it difficult to induce my boatmen to pull up beneath its shade. Rumphius was first to report that this tree produced wood-aloes, and in this he was probably led astray designedly by natives. Agallochum is scarce, and sells for a high price; so the natives endeavor to keep Europeans in ignorance of the tree by which it is produced, and of the localities where it is found.

In Carpenter's Natural History of the Bible, an English work reprinted by Abbott, a description of the gecko is given. "It is thus described," says the author, by Cedepe: 'Of all the oviparous quadrupeds whose history we are publishing, this is the first that contains a deadly poison. This deadly lizard, which deserves all our attention by his dangerous properties, has some resemblance to the chameleon. The name gecko imitates the cry of this animal, which is heard especially before rain. It is found in Egypt, India, Amboyna, &c. It inhabits, by choice, the crannies of half-rotten trees, as well as humid places. It is sometimes met with in houses, where it occasions great alarm, and where every exertion is used to destroy it speedily. Bontius states that its bite is so venomous, that if the part bitten be not cut away or burned, death ensues in a few hours.' It is well known in India that the gecko is as harmless as the cricket. I have had them drop from the ceiling upon my naked hand, and hang suspended by the feet from my fingers without the slightest pain or inflammation ensuing."

Stuart on Rev. xxi. 18, says: "The bottom row of foundation stones was *jasper*—which is of a green transparent color, streaked with red veins." Such a definition of jasper I have never been able to find in any work on mineralogy; and Webster, following Dana, defines it, "An opaque, impure variety of quartz, of red, yellow, and also of some dull colors." The distinctive character of jasper from other

minerals that resemble it, is "its opacity." The Greek word, as used by the apostle, undoubtedly designated the stone now called heliotrope or bloodstone.

Murray, in his Encyclopedia of Geography, one of the first works of its class, says: "To the fig tribe belongs the famous banyan of India, commonly called peepul tree—(*Ficus religiosa*).” But the famous banyan is not commonly called peepul, but bir; and the peepul is not the banyan, but the *Ficus religiosa*; and the banyan is not *Ficus religiosa*, but *Ficus Indicus*.

With teachers such as these Europeans and Americans go to India, and find themselves in the midst of a fauna and flora with which they are utterly unacquainted. In ordinary circumstances, the professional duties of most men preclude them from bestowing the time and attention to the natural sciences, necessary to enable them to determine accurately the character of the objects of nature with which they are unacquainted. It is not remarkable then that Indian literature abounds in errors. Wherever there is European society, there is found a numerous class of English names incorrectly applied to Indian productions, which almost unavoidably leads the translator or author astray, when unable to make a scientific examination for himself. In Burmah, for instance, it has passed from conversation to books published within the last ten or fifteen years, that tumeric is saffron; the flower of the thorn-apple, the trumpet flower: the euphorbia plant, a cactus; the tamarind tree, the tamarisk, and its timber, iron wood; millet, barley; the ebony tree is the cabbage tree of one author, and the fig tree of another; while ebony, not being supposed to exist, though abundant, is defined "a kind of a tree;" the fennel-flower is a "kind of rice;" nettles, "a kind of thorn;" sweetflag, sugar cane; the date tree is the Palmyra palm, and the Palmyra, the talipot. Tin is lead; mica, talc; serpentine, jasper; the camelian, a garnet or ruby; gamboge, realgar; natron—the carbonate of soda is saltpetre—the nitrate of potash; and antimony is bismuth, according to one authority, and James' powder, according to another. The porcupine is a hedgehog; the shrew-mouse, a musk-rat; the sand-badger, a

hyena; the deer, an elk; the monitor, a guana; and the bloodsucker, a chameleon. The adjutant is a gull; the eagle an adjutant, or, according to one writer, a swan; the horn-bill, a crane; and the sunbird, a skylark.

Writers like these furnish the material with which the savans of France and Germany construct some of their learned dissertations. Indeed the ablest naturalists, if they have not travelled, are necessarily shut up to such sources for their information. Prof. Agassiz, probably the best read as well as the most skilful naturalist of the age, wrote on "Cyprionides," in his work on Lake Superior: "They do not seem to occur in the northernmost fresh-water streams, *nor anywhere in the tropics*, except in very high altitudes, where recently a few have been found in the Andes." Yet, between twelve and seventeen degrees of north latitude, I have noticed and recorded between thirty and forty different species of Cyprins, all found at inconsiderable altitudes above the sea.

ART. III.—THE REV. SPENCER H. CONE, D. D.

The Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Spencer Houghton Cone, D. D., late Pastor of the First Baptist Church, New York. Preached by the Rev. THOMAS ARMITAGE, D. D. Published by request of the Church. New York. 1855.

"THE wheels of nature," said the eloquent Robert Hall, in the closing paragraph of his funeral sermon for the beloved Dr. Ryland, "are not made to roll backward; every thing presses on towards eternity: from the birth of time an impetuous current has set in, which bears all the sons of men towards that interminable ocean. Meanwhile heaven is attracting to itself whatever is congenial to its nature, is enriching itself by the spoils of earth, and collecting within its capacious bosom whatever is pure, permanent, and divine; leaving nothing for the last fire to consume but the objects

and the slaves of concupiscence; while everything which grace has prepared and beautified shall be gathered and selected from the ruins of the world to adorn that eternal city, which 'hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God doth enlighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.' "

This great change, which is conveying our fellow-Christians in rapid succession to heaven, ought to be attentively regarded by us, as full of instruction, admonition, and encouragement. If "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints," this removal ought to be of interest to us also; if their excellences blessed the world they have left, we should imitate their example; if their labors have ceased to impart blessings to mankind, our diligence should be increased, that the cause of righteousness and happiness may be still extended; and if they have entered on the eternal Sabbath, we also should be hasting to that day of God. Influenced by these views, we propose to write a few paragraphs on the life and character of our late estimable brother and fellow-laborer in the kingdom of Christ, Dr. Cone. He has "fulfilled his course," and from the zeal and ardor with which he pursued it, there are many important lessons to be learned.

Spencer H. Cone was born at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 30th of April, 1785. We are informed by Dr. Armistage, that his ancestry, on his father's side, can be traced to the first settlers of New England; and on his mother's side, to the first colonists of Virginia. His father was a stern republican, of polished manners, high-spirited and fearless, and fought with great bravery in the Revolutionary war. His mother was remarkable for great personal beauty, vigorous intellect, and indomitable moral energy. Both Mr. and Mrs. Cone were members of the Baptist church at Hopewell, N. J., the latter uniting with it a few months after the birth of Spencer. Speaking of his mother, and of a narrative of facts he received from her, he says:—"As I was sleeping in her lap, she was much drawn out in prayer for her babe, and supposed she received an answer, with the assurance that the child should live to preach the gospel of Christ. This assur-

ance never left her; and it induced her to make the most persevering efforts to send me to Princeton—a course, at first, very much against my father's will. This she told me after my conversion; it had been a comfort to her in the darkest hour of domestic trial; for she had never doubted but that her hope would be sooner or later completed." She happily lived to see him successfully laboring in the ministry.

It usually happens, that those who become subjects of divine grace, are more or less impressed with the importance of religion in early life. This was the case with Spencer H. Cone. At eight years of age he accompanied his grandfather Houghton to the "Hopewell Great Meeting," an annual assembly at that time very common, and even now not unfrequently to be met with, when several days were devoted to worship and Christian intercourse. Among the preachers on that occasion was the late Rev. James M'Laughlin, a name which even yet calls tears of love and joy from many eyes; he preached from one of his favorite texts—"Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician there?" Jer. viii. 22. Our departed brother wrote, "This sermon deeply affected me; it left upon my mind an impression never eradicated—a system of theology never forgotten—namely, 1. Total depravity. 2. Universal condemnation. 3. Salvation alone by the balm of Gilead—the blood of the Lamb. I was so affected by this sermon, that for months I was afraid to go to sleep without saying the Lord's prayer, as it is called, or some other little form taught me by my mother. But the impression wore off, and left me thoughtless and playful as it found me."

"About two years after this," says Dr. Armitage, "he accompanied his mother to hear a sermon, from Dr. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia: Dr. Green preached very powerfully from John i. 29. "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." His mind was again seized with distressing convictions of his ruined condition as a sinner, of his base ingratitude, and of the efficacy of the blood and righteousness of Christ alone to save him. For a time, he strove again to do good, but strove in his own strength; and evil, and only evil was present with him; so that he soon ceased to pray, and gave himself up again to folly.

"At twelve years of age he entered Princeton College, and at fourteen was pursuing his studies with avidity, when his father was unexpectedly taken away by death. This distressing affliction threw upon

him the necessity of retiring from college, that he might devote himself to teaching for his own support, and the support of his mother, his brother, and three sisters. He spent seven years as a teacher, in Princeton, Springfield, and Bordentown, in N. J., and in the Philadelphia Academy, which was then under the supervision of Dr. Abercrombie. His favorite department was in the Latin and Greek languages, and in the Bordentown Academy he had the entire charge of the department." Page 8.

It would seem that by this time his religious impressions had been entirely removed, or at least, he had never yet become decided for Christ and his cause. In the good providence of God he was restrained from any "excess of riot," and maintained a high reputation for sobriety, manliness, and perseverance; we see him, however, at twenty-one, entering on engagements which must have grieved the soul of his pious mother.

We confess to having felt some difficulty as to whether we should make more than a passing reference to the six or seven years which Mr. Cone passed on the stage, and have at length resolved on stating a few facts, derived from the best sources, partly because they are illustrative of his character, and chiefly because some very erroneous statements of the matter have for several years past been prevalent.

It seems, then, that in very early life, Mr. Cone had no strong predilections for theatrical amusements; it is even said that he had never been at a theatre a dozen of times till he appeared as an actor, and that he entered the profession partly because some of his friends thought he would excel in it, but principally because a larger income than he now had was necessary for the support of his mother and the family. From *Durang's Philadelphia Stage, from 1749 to 1821*, we copy a few sentences relative to his *début* in 1806. He says, "During this season a young gentleman made his first appearance, June 27, as Achmet, in *Barbarossa*, with much success. . . . This debutant was Spencer H. Cone. He was a young gentleman of fine education and manly figure. Flattered with his success, he enrolled himself among the regular sons of Thespis, and steadily ascended the devious theatrical path with credit, playing juvenile tragedy and second gentleman of comedy very respectably."

After mentioning some of the events of Mr. Cone's subsequent life, he gives an account of a difference between the young actor and the managers, in which the public very warmly took his part; "at one time handbills were posted on the front pillars of the theatre, and distributed over the city, inscribed 'Cone, or no play.'" The public, "in a measure, carried their point."

From *Wood's Recollections of the Stage*, we learn a very characteristic fact relative to our friend. It seems that 1811 was a year of some confusion in the theatrical affairs of Philadelphia, and our author says, "Among the benefit failures Cone's was one, in consequence of which he issued the following card:

'TO THE PUBLIC.

'FIRST NIGHT IN AMERICA OF THE PEASANT BOY.

'Having sustained a *heavy loss*, instead of receiving a *benefit*, and at the solicitation of several friends warmly interested in my welfare, I am induced *once again* to try the strength of that tenure by which I have hitherto held the patronage of my fellow-citizens. Whether the chilling neglect I have this season for the first time experienced, proceeded from lethargic indifference, or pointed contempt, time will speedily determine. I cannot refrain from thus publicly expressing my thanks to the managers for their liberality, in granting me the first night of a *new drama*, written by the favorite author of the day, and which I confidently trust the approbation of a Philadelphian audience will sanction as one of the most elegant and interesting productions of his pen.

'SPENCER H. CONE.'

"The second attempt," says the historian, "proved more successful, the receipts reaching \$735."

Durang, speaking of December 21, 1812, says, "On that occasion Mr. Cone performed *Lothair*, being his last appearance on the stage. In the course of the evening he delivered a farewell address, written for the occasion." Elsewhere, the same writer says, "He was a great favorite with the audience," and closes his statement with the quiet remark, "We hope he does not abuse the stage, for he did very well on it in the way of income." Mr. Cone himself says, "Filled with mortification and disgust, I resolved to abandon the stage for ever. And I left a profession more calculated to

harden the heart, and put away from men the thoughts of dying, than, perhaps, almost any other." It is certain that he did not leave the stage because the stage would not sustain him; for the very first year it gave him one thousand dollars, and his last engagement was at the rate of thirty dollars a week, beside "benefit nights" at Philadelphia and Baltimore.

It would appear that during even these years of gaiety and folly, young Cone was neither without powerful convictions of conscience, nor destitute of amiable feelings, especially towards his pious mother. In reference to the latter subject, the Rev. Dr. S. Cox, when speaking at his funeral, said, "His character for morality, and for a domestic and holy affection (I had almost said) for his mother and other relations, had won for him a peculiar fame, even before he knew Christ." At the time he was teaching in Philadelphia she was a member of the First Baptist Church in that city, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Rogers, and afterwards of the Rev. Dr. Staughton; while, however, he was much charmed with the eloquence of the latter gentleman, he says, "My mind was unaffected by anything I heard." From Sabbath to Sabbath, even year after year, the good old lady leaned upon the arm of her son to and from the house of God, and must have often sighed as he praised, like the ancient Jews, the "very lovely song of one that had a pleasant voice, and could play well on an instrument." Alas! "he heard His words, but did them not."

But he was not without feeling, and strong feeling induced by other means. "At all times," says Dr. Armitage, "he stood in awe of his mother's prayers," and while he was teaching at Springfield, his mind was powerfully affected, in a manner which shall be described in his own words, as used in a sermon to young people from his own pulpit, in 1844:—

"Blessed with health and a great flow of animal spirits, God was not in all my thoughts; but though I had forgotten him, he had not forgotten me; and He was pleased to visit me in a dream, which no changes of time or place can erase from memory.

"I seemed to be falling down a well backwards, with my face turned

towards the top. There I saw one standing, having the appearance of a man. His face was fresh and ruddy ; his eyes, like the blue sky, beamed with benevolence, and I recollect his countenance as distinctly as though I had seen it but yesterday. He intimated his willingness to lift me out of the well if I wished ; but I looked to the sides, and looked down, and saw here and there projections of earth and stones ; and imagining that I could lay hold upon these and climb up myself, I declined his assistance. I now began to sway my body to the right and left, and to make vigorous efforts to lay hold of some projection, and thereby arrest my downward course ; conscious, all the while, that the being at the top of the well, whether man or angel, was able and willing to help—but I was resolved to save myself. In an instant, to my utter amazement, the well immeasurably widened, like the mouth of a bell, and I was lost in the bottomless pit. The flames almost touched me ; my arms sunk lifeless by my side ; my strength was gone, my heart seemed to be suffocated and ready to burst ; I looked up to the good being at the top of the well ; he stood there still, regarding me with the tenderest compassion ; in unspeakable anguish I cried, 'Save me ! save me !' and in a moment I was at the top of the well—I was safe ! and the terrors of my dream all vanished away. I have never regarded dreams as worth remembering, and yet this dream told me the story of my life in such vivid colors, that I could not drive it from my mind. I was oppressed—terrified—at the prospect of hell, and began to pray and read the Bible diligently."

We have already seen that, at nearly the close of the year 1812, Mr. Cone left the stage, and we shall now perceive that the two or three years following this period were fraught with events of the highest importance both to himself and the circle in which he moved.

On May 10, 1813, he was married to Miss Sallie Wallace Morrell, of Philadelphia, a lady who is said to have "made his home the seat of domestic bliss," till she was separated from him by the hand of death, after a union of more than forty-one years, August 15, 1854, leaving her husband and two sons to mourn their loss. During the same year he entered the office of *The Baltimore American*, and took charge of its books and funds. Within a year, however, he left it, and associated himself with Mr. John Norvell in the purchase and editorship of *The Baltimore Whig*, a paper devoted to the doctrines and measures of the Democratic school, as put forth by Jefferson and administered by Madison. At the same period he became connected with the army, and was engaged in the war, as we shall hereafter see,

then raging between this country and Great Britain. He first filled the office of Lieutenant in the corps of Sharpshooters, and afterwards that of Captain of the Union Artillery Company. Dr. Armitage tells us that "he entered Fort M'Henry, and stood bravely at his post all through the shower of shells which tore up the earth at his feet, and tore his men to pieces at his side, during the bombardment. And, under the same authority, he threw himself into the hottest of the fight at Long-log-lane, Bladensburg, and Baltimore."

During all this time almost infinitely greater changes were going on in his character and prospects, for which himself and many others will eternally praise the sovereign mercy of heaven. We must give the narrative in his own glowing words, for we can neither abridge nor change it to advantage. We copy the passage from his sermon to the young, from which we have already given an extract.

"In the month of November, 1813, after breakfast, I took up the newspaper, and saw, among other things, a large sale of books advertised at Wood's auction rooms, and said to myself, I will look in as I go to the office, and see what they are. I did so, and the first book I took up was a volume of the works of John Newton. In an instant, my whole life passed in review before me. I remembered taking that book out of the college library at Princeton, and reading Newton's life to my mother. His dream of the lost ring reminded me forcibly of my dream of the well, and I felt an ardent desire to own the book, and read the dream again. I left the rooms, having first requested Mr. Wood, who was a particular friend, to put it up for sale as soon as he saw me in the evening, as it was the only work I wanted. He promised to do so, and I immediately went out towards our office, which was nearly opposite: but I had scarcely reached the middle of the street, when a voice, 'like the sound of many waters,' said to me, 'THIS IS YOUR LAST WARNING!' I trembled like an aspen leaf—I felt myself to be in the grasp of the Almighty—and an earthquake could not have increased my dismay. Sermons heard when only eight years old, on the Balm of Gilead, and on the Lamb of God—the dream—all were painfully present, and I thought my hour of doom had come. I went to the office, took down the day-book to charge the new advertisements, but my hand trembled so that I could not write, and I put the book back in its place. I went out into South street—then walked up and down Market street in the crowd till dinner-time, to drown, if it were possible, my thoughts and feelings. But all in vain. The sound still rung, not only in my ears, but through my heart, like the

sound of a trumpet—THIS IS YOUR LAST WARNING! I went home to dinner, endeavoring to conceal my feelings as much as possible from my wife. The day wore heavily away; I was at the auction room at the hour; purchased *the book* that seemed to be strangely connected with my weal or woe; returned to my house immediately, and read Newton's eventful life entirely through before retiring to rest. There seemed to be some strong points of resemblance between us; he had been rescued from the wrath to come; what would become of me? I found that he read the Bible, and obtained light. I went to bed with the determination of rising early to imitate his example, and search the Scriptures. My dear young wife thought I was going mad. Oh no! no! I was not mad. He who had compassion on the poor Gadarene, was now bringing me to my right mind, in a way that I knew not."*

It never was possible for Spencer H. Cone to be inactive, or to delay what he considered to be his duty. Few men could adopt the language of David with more propriety, as to holy promptitude—"I made haste, and delayed not to keep thy commandments." Let us again listen to his statement:—

"I wished immediately to be baptized. There was no question as to the right way. I had read the New Testament so thoroughly that the doctrines of the gospel were perfectly plain, though I had not conferred with flesh and blood, or asked any one what church I ought to join. Next day I went to brother Lewis Richards, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Baltimore, to inquire when I could be baptized. He said he would converse with me on Wednesday, being then engaged, and let me know. I called according to appointment, and he requested me to relate my Christian experience. I told him what God had done for my soul. He said if I would come to their church meeting next Friday afternoon, at three o'clock, he would be glad to hear me say the same thing again. Accordingly I went. Half a dozen brethren and forty or fifty sisters were present. The old man called me to him, beside the communion table, and asked me to tell those who were present what the Lord had done for

* He now commenced with great diligence to read the Scriptures, and to attend on preaching, with the direct view of learning in what way he could be saved; but several months elapsed before his views became clear on this weighty matter. Prayer, ardent and persevering, was his practice and his source of happiness. He says, when speaking of his being engaged in this duty, "I felt that as a sinner I was condemned and justly exposed to immediate and everlasting destruction. I saw distinctly that in Christ alone I must be saved, if saved at all; and the view I at that moment had of God's method of saving sinners, I do still most heartily entertain, after thirty years' experience of his love."

me. As there was no other candidate, he wished me to be particular in my relation. I enjoyed great liberty of speech; my soul was lighted up as upon the wings of a dove, and I felt as if I should stay but a very short time upon earth. With a melting heart, I recounted all the way in which the Lord my God had brought me out of darkness into his marvellous light; and the narrative was responded to by sobs and tears from many of those who were present. The pastor asked but one question—when I wished to be baptized? I replied, ‘to-morrow.’ He said it was too cold, the ice was thick, and he was lame with rheumatism. Several members said—‘Oh! try brother Richards; we have not had one baptism for so many months past.’ He consented. Many came and took me by the hand, and bid me God speed. Some said, ‘we have not heard such a sermon as your experience in many a year; the Lord will make a preacher of you.’ On Saturday morning, February 4, 1814, I was baptized in the Patapsco, by Elder Lewis Richards, the ice having been cut for the purpose. It was more than a foot thick, and the spectators, with many of my old companions among them, stood on the ice, within a few yards of where I was buried, and went away, saying, ‘He is mad; he’ll not stick to that long!’ In coming out of the water I felt a strong desire to tell to all around what a dear Saviour I had found, but my sense of propriety prevented me from speaking.”

Yes, the good brethren and sisters of the little church at Baltimore were right when they said, “The Lord will make a preacher of you.” How could it be otherwise? Was he not a young man of brilliant oratorical powers, of intense ardor, of undoubted piety, of flaming zeal, and well acquainted with the moral wants of mankind, and the adaptation of the gospel to their necessities? Who could hesitate as to his duty? He himself did. He felt the force of his obligations, but he felt also his insufficiency, and supposed that years of preparatory study were among the principal qualifications for the work of the ministry. His heart struggled against the counsels of his friends, and though he gave up the select school in which he was now the principal, it was to enter on an appointment he had obtained in the Treasury Department at Washington, to which city he removed his residence and his membership, uniting with the First Baptist Church there. This was in the early part of 1815. Little did he suppose that all this was the direct path to the pulpit. For the last time we quote his own words:—

“In the course of three or four weeks, the deacon of the little church

at the Navy-yard asked me to go with him to their Lord's day morning prayer meeting. They had no pastor, and asked me to lead the meeting, and give the little band of twenty or thirty a word of exhortation. In reading 1 John ii. 1, I was forcibly impressed with the words, 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous;' and I spoke from them without embarrassment for nearly an hour, to my own utter surprise. This was my first attempt to preach Christ crucified to my fellow men.

"At their earnest request, I agreed to speak for them again the next Lord's morning. It somehow leaked out that Mr. Cone, formerly on the stage, was to preach. When I went to fulfil the appointment, their little meeting-house on the Commons, near the Navy-yard, was surrounded with an immense crowd, while within it was so full that I reached the pulpit steps with difficulty. This was the greatest trial I ever had as a preacher in view of an audience. When I came in sight of the crowd I was tempted to turn back, and when I rose up to commence public worship Satan assured me that my mouth should be stopped if I attempted to preach; that the cause of my precious Saviour would be sadly wounded; that I had better say to the people, I was not prepared to address so large an assembly, and then go home. The suggestion was so plausible, I did not think at the moment that it came from the great deceiver, and I concluded to give out a hymn, read a chapter, pray, and sing again, and then determine how to act. While singing the second hymn, which closed with these words—

'Be thou my strength and righteousness,
My Jesus and my all!'

the worth of souls was presented to my mind with irresistible force. I never once thought of the want of words to tell the story of the cross, nor of the crowd of hearers; but directed them to Ephesians ii. 10, 'For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them,' and spoke for an hour with fervor and rapidity. Wonderfully did the Lord help me that day; and I felt it to be so easy to preach Jesus, and I was so ready to spend and be spent in his service, that I consented to an appointment for the next Lord's day. My third sermon was from Malachi, iii. 16, 'Then they that feared the Lord spoke often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard it,' &c., and he gave me that day a soul for my hire, to encourage my heart, and to strengthen my hands—blessed be his holy name for ever! Oh, what am I, or what my father's house, that to me this grace should be given, 'to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ?'"

It will be readily supposed that Mr. Cone was not long in fully entering on the duties of the ministry; in this same year of 1815, he was encouraged by the First Church at

Washington to engage in the work, and try the usual methods in such cases ordained to its sacred functions. In December of the same year he was elevated from the Treasury desk to be Chaplain of Congress. In March following he was invited by the Baptist Church at Alexandria, a few miles from Washington, to the pastorate, and in May assumed the charge, the church then numbering twenty-five members. After laboring among them for seven years, he resigned his pastorate, leaving in communion three hundred and nine members, among whom were some of the most intelligent and influential persons in the community.

As long ago as 1816, Mr. Cone paid his first ministerial visit to the city of New York, and preached in the pulpit of the Mulberry street Baptist Church. His labors produced a happy effect, and from that time frequent attempts were made to induce him to remove, that, to use the image of the prophet, he might "prophesy upon the thick boughs." At length the church in River street, finding it necessary to elect a colleague for their venerable and apostolic pastor, the Rev. John Williams, prevailed on Mr. Cone to accept a call, and when, in about two years afterwards, that excellent man was called to his rest, the whole charge was undertaken by our friend. The manner in which, for sixteen years, he honorably and successfully discharged his duties in this important position, we are not now called on fully to describe; suffice it to say that his popularity never declined, and that during his pastorate at Oliver street, he baptized into its fellowship on the profession of their faith, four hundred and forty-five persons.

In 1841, Mr. Cone accepted a call unanimously tendered to him by the First Baptist Church in New York. Though at that time a series of afflictive events had reduced their numbers, they were still wealthy, zealous, and influential; and to secure the services of a man whom they wisely considered as likely, under God, to raise them to a high state of prosperity, they readily consented to erect a new and beautiful house of worship, with large and convenient rooms for the use of denominational societies. In this church and from its pulpit he labored till his decease.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that he was constantly laborious at home and abroad; ordinations, dedication services, and ecclesiastical councils, as well as boards and committees of public societies, of his own and of other Christian connections, sought his services, and enjoyed them, when physical impossibilities did not interpose. He found that Solomon's statement, "In all labor there is profit," was at least true in the sense that labor gave him joy.

But even the most devoted servants of our Lord "are not suffered to continue, by reason of death." For two or three years past it was evident to those who saw Dr. Cone but seldom, that his physical powers were declining. It must be conceded that however he might be sustained by the full belief that he was correct in his views of the necessity of separating from many of his brethren in connection with the revision of the Scriptures, and the various movements which such a separation led him to, that the difficulties of his station affected his spirits, while the active labor of a protracted life were telling on his bodily frame. Besides, in August, 1854, "she who had stood at his side in all the changes of forty years, was taken away; and now he realized, as he never had before, that life is bounded by three-score years and ten, and that his foot rested on the margin of these bounds." Dr. Armitage says in reference to this event—

"I can never forget a scene which occurred in my own pulpit on the 4th of June last, illustrative of his deep sorrow under this bereavement. A young minister had lost his wife, and had brought her to the house of God where she formerly worshipped, that we might celebrate her funeral services. Dr. Cone was present, and rose in the pulpit to address the friends. But as he opened his mouth to speak, his eye caught a glance of the young brother, quivering with suppressed grief before the coffin of his sleeping wife. The sight was too much for his very sensitive heart, and he was overwhelmed. For some moments he stood unable to utter a word. The big tears came pouring down his cheeks, and he attempted to brace himself against his emotions in his own peculiar way, but failed. At length, regaining perfect control of his heart, he said, in tones of hallowed tenderness, "It is hard to bury a young wife, my dear brother. But when you have lived with one forty and two years—the wife of your youth—the mother of your children—the companion of your lonely hours—the undeviating and always reliable friend of your whole life—then indeed the stroke is heavy."—p.p. 16, 17.

We know not that we can describe the closing scenes of Dr. Cone's life better than in the language of the funeral sermon, nor do we think that our readers will consider our quotations too many or too long :—

"On the 9th day of August, [1855] he felt a numbness stealing over his limbs, and remarked to an old friend from Virginia, who had called upon him, 'I have been laboring hard and incessantly from the age of fourteen, and now I feel my work is done.' On the 10th, he rose in the morning and, contrary to his custom for some time past, took the Bible himself to read a portion at family worship, instead of requesting his son to read for him. Twice he faltered in the reading, as if his sight failed him, which created a slight surprise at the moment. Then the family kneeled down together before the Throne of Grace for the last time! His prayer was characterized by two things, which attracted the attention of those present, and left an impression that will be immortal—an unusual fervency, which amounted to a 'wrestling' with God; and a direct personality of supplication for himself, such as he was scarcely ever known to use before at the family altar. He prayed that, as a shepherd, he might give up the sheep into the hands of 'the Good Shepherd,' who gave his life for them—as a watchman upon the towers of Zion, he might be free from the blood of all men—as a steward, he might render his account with joy—as a servant, he might be found faithful in a few things at least, and that God would accept himself, and all his poor services, to the glory of his grace. Prayer being ended, and the sacred oracles being laid aside, he retired to his room, where in a short time, 'he was taken sick of the sickness whereof he died.'

"Only five days before this, he had preached to you that memorable last sermon, from the very appropriate words of the Saviour, 'No man cometh unto the Father but by me;' and now he was to feel all the preciousness of the divine annunciation. About two hours after Dr. Cone was stricken with paralysis, and while his physicians were anxiously prescribing the method of his treatment, Deacon Hillman was endeavoring to afford him a little relief by rubbing the foot that was paralyzed. He looked down upon the deacon, and remarked with great difficulty of articulation, 'I have kept on the harness until my work is done. The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear? *But I have no wounded spirit.* What a blessed thing it is to know that when we leave this body, we are going to a better place." He then proceeded to quote several rich promises from God's word. He also spoke earnestly of the covenant of grace, 'ordered in all things, and sure;' for the foundation of his faith was laid

'In oaths, and promises, and blood.'

"After this, he dropped a part of a sentence now and then to Dr. Devan, one of his beloved physicians; but they were, for the most part,

so broken and disconnected, that it would be unsatisfactory to repeat them here. He lingered on for eighteen days, and all that human skill and kindness could do was done to effect his recovery. But, in his own significant phraseology, his '*work was done.*' And early on the 28th of August, about the ordinary time for his family devotions, he came unto 'Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.' "

In his theological views Dr. Cone ranked with the more rigid Calvinists, sympathizing with Gill rather than with Fuller. He advocated a limited atonement made for sinners, and felt himself bound only to invite those to the acceptance of spiritual blessings who gave evidence of their being numbered with the elect, by the qualifications of heart which they possessed. It is true that the warm promptings of his generous nature, and his tender sympathies for the unconverted, led him at times to a much freer address to such persons than his creed might seem to warrant; generally, however, he was guarded in his addresses to them, as if apprehensive of inspiring them with hopes impossible to be realized.

His large and noble heart panted, too, for the salvation of a lost world, and no man among us was more ready to labor or to make sacrifices for the heathen. No small difficulty could keep him away from the meetings of his brethren on missionary business, or induce him to consent to comparatively slight efforts in the sacred cause when great ones were at all practicable. Over no Baptist minister's grave in this vast country will there be more tears shed by missionaries, and their wives, than over his. They know that they enjoyed his full sympathies and his prayers, and that he spared no effort to advance their comfort, or increase their usefulness.

It will be readily believed that Dr. Cone was no cordial friend to that *kind* of effort which was made some years ago for the promotion of revivals. We well remember occupying a seat in the pulpit of the First Church, on a Lord's day morning in 1844, in company with its pastor and the late excellent Dr. Sharp, of Boston. The gentleman last named preached. His object was to guard the hearers of his friend against the danger of departing from the old paths. Could the reader have witnessed the evident delight of Dr. Cone, as

the speaker proceeded, he would never have forgotten the scene. At the close of the services, after a moment spent in the expression of his thanks, Mr. Cone was missing. In a minute or two, however, he was again at the side of his friend, saying, "Doctor, that sermon must go to press to-morrow morning; an ample sum is contributed to issue a thousand copies." This is but one of numerous instances which might be adduced, evincing his energy of character and influence with his people. The sermon, however, was, perhaps wisely, retained by its venerable author.

On one subject, as is well known, Dr. Cone differed from very many of his brethren with whom for the greater part of his life he had been wont to co-operate. For a long time the thought had been maturing in his own mind, and at length he became confirmed in the conviction, that it was the duty of the Baptists to take immediate measures to secure a more correct version of the English Scriptures. Naturally possessed of strong emotions, he now became intensely alive to the importance of this subject. He regarded it unsurpassed in its present claim upon the Baptist Zion. On one occasion he was heard to say, "I regard it as much *my duty* to aid in procuring a revision of our English Bible as to preach the gospel." No doubt in this he was sincere. The strength with which this subject took hold of his emotional nature, may serve as a key to the unremitting zeal he everywhere evinced for the speedy attainment of the end desired.

Some of his brethren were ready to join the intrepid adventurer in securing an object, which, in their estimation, was fraught with incalculable advantage to fallen humanity. Others, again, while they sympathized with the general subject of revision, did not view it as a matter of the first importance, and deemed it inexpedient to attempt its accomplishment under circumstances which appeared to them to be so singularly inauspicious as to defeat the end contemplated. And there were some who viewed the entire movement as highly infelicitous, and void of any special claim upon the benevolent labors of Zion for the salvation of a lost world. But this subject has been so recently and fully discussed, that

we regard any further notice of it, in this connection, unnecessary.

Dr. Cone laid no claim to superior scholarship. We once heard him remark, with great humility and good taste, that on entering the ministry the question came up whether he should, with such resources as he had, endeavor to be practically useful as a preacher of Christ, or devote a considerable portion of his time to mere literary and intellectual culture. The field before him was white unto the harvest, and he was compelled to come to the conclusion that he must forego all regard to literary reputation, and thrust in his sickle and reap. Hence, he was most at home in the domain of practical and experimental religion. In the pulpit his appearance and manner were unusually impressive; his voice musical and powerful. He was a popular and eminently useful preacher; and, on the whole, he possessed a well-balanced mind, while his clear perception, his talent of description, his exact memory, and his warm affections never allowed him to have an inattentive or uninterested congregation. We may here use the language of a public writer several years ago, whose description, though incorrect in almost every other particular, gives a faithful picture of him in the pulpit. "The style of Dr. Cone is marked and striking—his words are well chosen, and each one is placed in a position where it will produce the most *telling* effect. His thoughts are always couched in beautiful language, and his sermons are always replete with interesting and instructive material. In his manner there is a force and earnestness which speaks, in language more potent than words, of the emotions and feelings of his soul. Knowing the path which leads to death and ruin, he would have his hearers avoid it, while he points them to a brighter and a better one, whose termination is everlasting bliss."

We entirely agree with Dr. Armitage as to the admirable and deeply impressive manner in which Dr. Cone conducted the psalmody of worship, and wish he had given us a few illustrations; we will endeavor to supply one or two. There are yet living a few persons who remember the intense interest attendant on his first entering Dr. Staughton's pulpit at

Philadelphia. When his preaching was announced, thousands who had seen him on another stage now flocked to hear him; it seemed as though the whole city had gathered together, and even that vast building in Sansom street was altogether unequal to the occasion. He seemed to read the thoughts of his hearers, and commenced the service with reading the hymn beginning—

“The wondering world inquires to know
Why I should love my Jesus so;
‘What are his charms,’ say they, ‘above
The objects of a mortal’s love?’”

The look, the tone, the manner of all this produced a thrilling sensation, and in Philadelphia, as everywhere else, his popularity never waned, nor did his congregations lessen.

Even since we began to write this paper we have been told, on the best authority, another fact of this kind. Soon after Dr. Cone’s settlement in Oliver street, a wealthy merchant of Hudson, we believe not a professor of religion, being in New York, and attracted by the fame of the new preacher, went to hear him, placing himself at an extreme distance from the pulpit. After awhile the preacher read his first hymn—

“Curst be the man, for ever curst,
That doth one wilful sin commit:
Death and destruction for the first,
Without relief and infinite.”

The gentleman said he could describe the feelings he was compelled to cherish, and the manner in which he was wrought upon, in no other way than the sound of thunder trumpeted into his ear, producing a thrill of terror which could never be lost.

We remember once entering the church in Broome street, on a Lord’s day morning, as he was reading the first line of the hymn,

“The deluge at the Almighty’s call,” etc.

Our first thought was that it was somewhat inappropriate to the occasion, but before he reached its close it seemed to us the most highly beautiful and appropriate hymn in the world, and awakened in us the happiest emotions.

Dr. Cone had a remarkable tact for the execution of ecclesiastical business; and hence he was, more frequently perhaps than any other man in his denomination, called to preside at public meetings. To say nothing here of his Presidency, first of the American and Foreign Bible Society, from its origin till 1850, and afterwards of the American Bible Union; or of his being many years, before either of these Societies existed, a Secretary of the American Bible Society, he was for many years together the Moderator of each of the Associations to which he belonged; and in 1832, 1835, and 1838 he was elected President of the Triennial Convention, including representatives of the Baptist Body from every State of the Union. Those who remember the manner in which he discharged the duties of this office may well shed an additional tear over his loss. Not very many, perhaps, who were present at the Convention in Richmond, in 1835, will cast their eyes over this page, but those who may do so will remember the impression he then produced. The delegation from England, consisting of the late venerable and beloved Drs. Cox and Hoby, when speaking in their printed volume of the manner in which he gave them, at the request of the body, the hand of fellowship, say, "Well did he sustain the dignity of his office, while with equal affection and eloquence he received us as brethren beloved for our work's sake, and emphatically as *Englishmen*, as *Christians*, and as *Ministers*. 'We welcome you,' said he, 'to our country, our churches, our houses, and our hearts.' When the tumult of emotion had subsided, after a few moments of solemn stillness which succeeded the President's address, he rose and gave out a stanza of the hymn which commences,—

'Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love.'

We happen to know that this statement was not made in a merely complimentary manner, as we heard more than once from their own lips even stronger expressions of admiration of his spirit and conduct.

Perhaps his talent in discharging the duties of a chairman was best evinced in preventing the introduction of irrelevant

matter. Did the reader ever see his look, or witness the gentle shrug of his shoulders, when some one has risen to propose a resolution which he deemed inappropriate, and heard him quickly and quietly remark, "I guess no one will second that motion?" If so, he must be convinced of the truth of our remark.

It is probable, however, that on no other occasion was his control of a public body so fully shown, as at the fourth annual meeting of the American and Foreign Bible Society, held at Baltimore, in 1841. The reader will possibly recollect the circumstances in which our denomination was then placed. For nearly a generation had the whole body of Baptists, from Maine to Georgia, acted in perfect harmony in sending missionaries to the heathen, and sustaining them in their labors; and with almost equal harmony had they acted in labors at home, as also from its origin, four years before this period, in the American and Foreign Bible Society. But dark clouds were now hovering over the whole land; opposing elements were collecting alike from the North and the South; flashes of lightning had for some time past indicated the approach of a storm, which was to rend the body asunder at Baltimore, during that last week in April. Or, to change the figure, one class of brethren had determined, cost what it might, to seek the immediate destruction of the system of slavery, or at least to hold no farther fellowship with those who sustained it; and another class resolved, if possible, to continue united efforts to extend the gospel, in which all had hitherto united as one. Strongly excited feelings had already been privately manifested, and as no one could tell whether the awful explosion would take place in the Bible Society, or in the Home Mission, or in the Triennial Convention of Foreign Missions, alarm prevailed. It was the lot of the Bible Society to meet first, on the morning of Tuesday. Brother Cone was in the chair, and after the usual preliminaries, rose to deliver his annual address. It was eminently characteristic. He evidently felt his solemn responsibility, as giving, in some degree, tone to the meetings of many days, and made an effort, if possible, to ward off

the danger. From the speech, as printed with the fourth Annual Report, we give an extract :

"To the successful prosecution of this enterprise *union is indispensable*. Do soldiers and politicians, and men of the world, appreciate duly the importance of this principle, in their various spheres of action? God forbid that they should continue to be wiser in their generation, than the children of light are in theirs. In coming to this house to-day, my heart was deeply affected, while I leaned upon the arm of a brother, and gazed upon the Calvert street monument, erected to the memory of the brave men who fell at the battle of the North Point, September 12, 1814. The first names which my eyes rested upon were M'Comas and Wells; and in an instant the scenes of that memorable day were present. We belonged to the battalion of Sharpshooters, and were stationed in the edge of a wood, some five or six miles from the Point; when one of the videts riding furiously to head quarters, delivered the stirring news that the British were landing below us. The general immediately sent one of his aides along the line for two hundred volunteers, including forty Sharpshooters, to feel the pulse of the enemy. As they stepped out, one after another, Wells said to me, 'I am this day twenty-one years old—just out of my apprenticeship; I know I shall be shot; but I'll go with you, live or die.' We advanced rapidly to ascertain the position of the invaders, and were soon upon them; swift flew the leaden messengers, and one of the first was sent to poor Wells; it passed through his head, and he faintly exclaimed, '*I am a dead man!*' Oh, never shall I forget the sound of his voice as he uttered the words, nor the expression of his glassy eye, as he looked up in my face—fell across my feet, and expired.

"My brethren, shall men thus devote themselves to their country, and follow their leader, whether to live or die; and shall we not manifest equal devotion to the cause of the Great Captain of our salvation? Do we talk of *union*? Baltimoreans! participators in the scenes of September, 1814, preach to American Baptists, I beseech you, on the nature and necessity of union. Remember the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, as from the opposite hill-top we watched the range of each successive shell, and as it exploded, groaned inwardly as though it were the death-knell of some brother in arms; remember, that full ten thousand men were at the same moment pressing with hostile feet our native soil, and already within a few miles of this devoted city; remember, that as we prepared to meet them, how every avenue for miles around was crowded with women and children, flying for safety; *then*, when we saw some troops from Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania coming to our aid, did we ask 'From what States do they come?' did we pause to discuss domestic institutions or local prejudices? No! the stars and stripes upon their floating banner bespoke a common country and a common cause; and to preserve the bold American eagle from the paws of the British lion, was the ardent, the common purpose of every patriotic heart. We

heard the immortal Washington, the father of his country, though dead yet speaking—'*United we stand, divided we fall*;' and shoulder to shoulder we breasted the storm of war. And shall we not much rather be united in wielding the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God—in obeying the commandment of Him who 'came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them?'

"Brethren, excuse this extemporaneous burst of feeling, and these allusions to the battle-field and garments rolled in blood—they came upon me suddenly with a force that would not brook control. But let me not be misunderstood: I love my country, and were it necessary, should not hesitate a moment to stand forth again in her defence; but I abhor war, and deprecate its recurrence as one of the greatest of national calamities—especially a war between Great Britain and the United States. Let us strive against it, and pray always that these two nations, now accomplishing so much in extending the means of civilization and salvation to earth's remotest bound, may henceforth be delightfully and profitably employed in provoking one another to love and good works."

The result of this address, delivered in his own animated manner, was to allay the storm, and to produce a sacred determination to maintain the peace and union which had so long reigned; and the object, for that time, was secured.

But we must close, and must not stay to speak of his friendship, his hospitality, and other excellences of his character. It was not our intention to anticipate, in respect to these and kindred topics, the memoirs of our departed friend, now in course of preparation. We have endeavored to speak with impartiality, but if any of our readers think we have expressed feelings or used language too glowing, we are not disposed to retract. Life with us is too short, and our work is too important to allow us to contend with our brethren, or to cherish any other than the utmost kindness to the memory of those with whom we humbly hope to spend an immortality of holy joy and union.

ARTICLE IV.—GENERAL VIEW OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE—ITS PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE.

- I. *Biblical Archæology.*
- II. *Biblical Introduction.*
- III. *Biblical Criticism.*
- IV. *Biblical Interpretation or Exegesis, and Hermeneutics.*
- V. *Biblical Theology.*
- VI. *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology.*
- VII. *Ecclesiastical History and Apologetics.*

HAVING, in a previous article,* considered the first four departments of theology named above, we now proceed to the fifth.

V. After having become thoroughly acquainted with biblical archæology, introduction, criticism, and the rules of exegesis, the theological student is prepared to enter the grand citadel of the Christian faith, viz: *Biblical Theology*, or the *Doctrines of the Bible*. Some critics suppose that doctrinal subjects should be considered before interpretation, and some *vice versâ*. The two are so intimately connected that they ought, in reality, to be considered together. If we first fix upon the doctrine contained in any passage of the Scriptures, we shall interpret it in accordance with that tenet, and the decision upon the doctrine really decides the character of the interpretation. On the other hand, if we first determine by the laws of hermeneutics what the passage means, the sentiment or doctrine is apparent. The student should never decide upon the doctrine of a passage without first applying to it the rules of interpretation, and should never attempt to interpret without a reference to the doctrine of the passage as compared with parallel passages. Still these are distinct departments of biblical science, and should be considered separately.

The learned Dr. Credner defines *Biblical Theology* to be, "the scientific form of the religious opinions contained in the

* See *Christian Review*, Vol. xx., No. 82.

Bible." He would make it historical entirely—the history of doctrines without any predilections for any one of them. The consideration of doctrines he would term *Dogmatics*. According to this view, dogmatics presupposes the inspiration of the Scriptures, while the reverse is true in respect to *Biblical Theology*. The latter makes the question of inspiration rest upon the historical facts deduced in the examination. We prefer to include in Biblical Theology, though not quite as scientific, dogmatics or doctrines, and consider the history of opinions under the head of *Ecclesiastical History*.

The *doctrines* of the Bible, as we have already intimated in the introductory remarks to this article, lie at the foundation of the whole science of theology; but what is the foundation on which those doctrines rest? We answer, the *Bible*. Even the existence of a Supreme Ruler of the universe is one of the doctrines of divine revelation, and was doubtless introduced from the Bible, as we have already intimated, into other systems of religion besides the Christian.

Admitting the inspiration of the Scriptures, we must believe every tenet there revealed. But as moral and religious truth cannot easily be proved by mathematical demonstration, and as different minds are not always similarly impressed by the same truths, we would ask whether there are not certain principles which may be adopted as the basis of truth and of the Bible, and which, at the same time, will be readily admitted by all intelligent minds? If the existence of a Supreme Being, or of more gods than one, lies at the basis of theology and of every system of religion, as we have intimated, can we not, aside from the proper source of evidence, the Sacred Scriptures, establish this doctrine by laying down such principles as even the sceptic will admit? He adverts immediately to reason and philosophy. It is unphilosophical, he exclaims, to believe, without demonstration, doctrines so incomprehensible as many which are contained in the Scriptures. Allow us to pursue this subject for a few moments. What is philosophy, what is the Christian faith, and what are the relations existing between the two? The answer to these questions will reveal the true foundation of all the present systems of reform and substitutes for evan-

gelical religion. *Philosophy*, etymologically considered, means the love of wisdom; but it is used to signify an explanation of the reasons of things. An eminent writer,* says that "it is the product of human thought acting upon the data given by the world without or the world within, and eliciting therefrom principles, laws, and systems." It investigates the causes of all physical and mental phenomena, taking nothing for granted which is not in accordance with reason. From facts, it derives laws and systems. It seeks for something fixed, immutable, eternal. It endeavors to lay a foundation—to establish laws—to form a system, which, on rational principles, will account for all of the phenomena of matter and mind. These principles it calls the laws of nature—of the universe. It makes law and system, immutable, eternal, divine. The mere philosopher thinks not of the great source and origin of all law. Nature is his God.

Christian Faith is the belief in a Supreme Being, who is the Creator of all things—the source of all the laws of matter and mind, and it recognizes a future state of rewards and punishments. *Theologically* considered, it denotes the system of religious belief contained in the Sacred Scriptures, and *evangelically* considered, an entire reliance upon Jesus Christ as our Mediator and Redeemer.

The difference between faith and philosophy is obvious. The one is belief—the assent of the mind to what another person has declared upon his own authority. The other takes the assertion or authority of no one—disbelieves everything which cannot be proved by reason. The one relies upon facts and persons, and the other upon law, system, and reason. The one admits revelation, miracles, and mysteries, while the other denies the whole, because they cannot be demonstrated by reason. Christianity upbraids philosophy as an ungrateful, rebellious, and sceptical child—as ascribing to human reason those principles which she had imparted—as

* See an admirable article by Prof. H. B. Smith, of the Union Theological Seminary, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Nov., 1849), upon *faith* and *philosophy*, to which we are indebted for some of our ideas advanced on biblical theology.

the originator of divisions and heresies in the church of God—as pointing out a way for mankind which leads to no haven of rest for the weary traveller; but which leads to darkness, without a ray of hope—to eternal nonentity. Philosophy, on the other hand, represents herself as the handmaid of religion. She asserts that Christianity has been defended, superstition expelled, and the highest achievements of the gospel accomplished by her instrumentality.

Is this so? We answer: both pleas are, to some extent, true. Philosophy undoubtedly originated from religion, and derived from it many of its principles. At the same time, the latter has often received aid from the former, and both may and ought to be helps to each other; but philosophy, in its present state, seems, in many cases, to be a foe to religion. One class of philosophers assert that there is no certainty even in respect to mind and morals excepting what is derived from the laws of matter. We must regard the laws of nature, and that is all which is required of us. There is no hereafter—this world limits our being. All beyond, to say the least, is uncertain. Other philosophers are remarkably benevolent—wish to reform mankind and make them happy; but all of their philanthropic efforts are confined to this world. There is indeed, according to their views, a heaven, as the Scriptures declare; but it is here. All is uncertain beyond the grave. Others, still more impressed with the truths of inspiration, assert, that to love God is the duty of man; but that love, being the essence of religion, is inherent in us. We are inspired, and that is sufficient. It is not necessary to believe in the inspiration nor doctrines of the Bible. These philosophers pretend that they have a more permanent foundation for human belief—one which is in accordance with the laws of nature. Others advance still farther, and maintain that they have established principles which will explain everything. They revere Christianity as the highest development of man's religious nature; but they stand above it. They have established a system which will explain all others—which will even reduce to the comprehension of human reason the sublime mysteries of the Christian faith. This is pantheism; but not exactly that of

Spinoza and Bruno, which makes the universe God. They carry their system to a higher state of refinement, and assert that the Spirit of God pervades everything, and that everything lives through Him and in Him. God is in us, and we are in God. Every human being is a part of God—partly human, partly divine. So Jesus Christ holds the same relation to God, and is really no more divine than any other human being.

This philosophy, in different shades, extensively prevails in Germany at the present time. Rationalism, transcendentalism, neology, and naturalism are some of the terms by which it is represented. From the deleterious influence of corrupt systems of philosophy, some have maintained that we should reject all philosophy and scientific investigation, as they seemed to be opposed to evangelical religion. But more enlightened views now prevail. Let the Christian be a philosopher. Let him be prepared to meet the rationalist and pantheist upon their own ground. Pantheism really destroys the personality of God, by maintaining that He is everything and that everything is God. We should show by a course of reasoning that this cardinal doctrine of divine revelation (the personality of God) cannot be rejected without doing violence to the human mind. Thus we can bring reason—human philosophy—to the aid of Christianity. We should distinguish between true and false philosophy. We need not fear that the latter will be opposed to Christianity. It may in many cases be above reason, but will not violate it. Philosophy should be brought into our theological discussions. It is intermingled with all of the metaphysical, moral, and religious systems ever formed by the ingenuity of man. In order to show sceptics that they are wrong, we must come near them, take them by the hand, and prove to them by principles and arguments, which they must themselves admit, that they have embraced a false philosophy. Reason and philosophy are as valuable to us as to infidelity. In the department of Biblical Theology we should bring to bear upon every doctrine, not only the authority of revelation, but every correct principle of human philosophy. We should have our principles fixed; we should have Christ in our

hearts, the cross in our eye, and then go forth into the strongholds of Satan. We should approach the enemy sufficiently near to examine carefully their citadel, its fortifications, its heavy ordnance and lighter artillery, the different kinds of weapons and the temper of their steel. Our theological students should be drilled for the contest, until they shall be prepared for the most insidious or ferocious attack. It is a singular idea, which prevails to some extent at the present time, that it is dangerous for inexperienced students to become acquainted with the sophistry of the schools—the evils of rationalism and infidelity, lest they should be converted to those systems of false philosophy, and make shipwreck of their faith. If such an acquaintance will convert them to infidelity, let them go. We wish for no such soldiers. We must have strong men. We live in an age of learning and mental power, and many of our opponents are not destitute of either. We must have men of as high attainments. Whether it is congenial with our wishes and feelings or not, we are obliged to contend with some of the most erudite minds and strongest intellects, and we must be prepared to meet the foe. We have had men of power, who have united Christianity and philosophy. Such were Augustine, Anselm, Pascal, Butler, and our own Edwards. They applied their learning and intellects to the subjugation of error, and demolished the very foundations upon which their able opponents reared their structures of sophistry. In taking such a course as we have marked out, we are aware that formidable dangers surround us, but was there ever a victory won without facing the cannon's mouth? While we have the Saviour as our leader, we must go forward, fearing no evil, and press through every danger to sure victory and triumph. It is admitted by all intelligent sceptics that there are many difficult problems in respect to God and his relations to man which the most profound human philosophy cannot solve. Christianity should here be brought forward, and we should philosophically show that such a system as the Christian scheme can alone explain those acknowledged mysteries. We can present an array of facts, history, experience, testimonies, which philosophy must admit, or violate its own ac-

known principles. But if our testimonies are discredited, we should press the question whether a system could be formed which would account for so many of the mysteries of our destiny as Christianity. Where the personality of God and the possibility of a revelation to man are not admitted by our opponent, we must undertake to establish those cardinal truths by a course of reasoning. We must do this or we can have no influence over such sceptical minds. We must do it, or give up the ground to our sophistical opponents. When we shall have established the *possibility* and *probability* of a revelation, then we must irrefragably prove that a divine revelation has been given to man, and when its authenticity has once been established, the doctrines which it reveals must unavoidably be received. Admitting the Bible to be a divine revelation, the question may then be asked, what are its doctrines? and we may find it necessary to prove that each doctrine either harmonizes with human reason and correct philosophy, or is clearly above them. To cry infidelity, or German rationalism, will not demolish the sophistical but able and learned arguments of the opposing philosophy. The grand stand-point in our modern false philosophy is, that the phenomena of the universe may be adequately accounted for by law and system. We should unanswerably refute this deceptive idea. It is easy to show that it does not solve the various mysteries of our being. We may demand of our opponents that they should show the *origin* of law and system, which they assert account for everything.

One striking characteristic of Christianity, and which distinguishes it from every other system of religion, is that a vicarious Sufferer and Mediator, Jesus Christ, who was man as well as God, is its central point. Prophets, apostles and evangelists wrote concerning him. His life was an example for our imitation; his death was our redemption; heaven and earth, through his mediation, are reconciled. This is the beacon light which enables us to shun the dark waters of rationalism, and all of the various shades of pantheistic theology. Evangelical divines in Germany are driven to the necessity of admitting the personality of Jesus Christ, and that he is the centre and soul of biblical theology, or of going

over to the ranks of cold rationalism. The breach between evangelical religion and neology is constantly becoming wider. The attempt to reconcile the former with the ever-changing forms of the latter was commendable, but entirely unsuccessful, and in some cases injurious to individuals. Some eminent and good men were scathed with the deceptive and learned sophisms of their opponents, from the fact that evangelical doctrines were not firmly fixed in their belief. They were not fully prepared for the onset. Their columns wavered and fell back, and some in despair of victory went over to the enemy; but when the strong minds and pious hearts had a little time for reflection, they retired for awhile into their only stronghold and rock of defence, the *doctrines of the cross*. They there changed some of their armor, brightened and sharpened their steel, and then went forth against their foes with renewed energy and wonderful success. Once let the mind and heart be deeply imbued with the doctrines of the crucified One, and there is no danger. The theologian may then face the most formidable opposition, and the sword of the Spirit will cut its way through the solid columns of neology and pantheism. Dogmatism and ritualism on the one hand, and deistical and pantheistic abstractions and mysticisms on the other, have pressed with tremendous power upon evangelical Christianity in Germany; but the advocates of the latter have found a middle ground between these sophisms in the personality and divinity of Jesus Christ, and we rejoice to believe that the scientific and learned German mind is gradually emerging from the dense mist and darkness which has so long enveloped it. The grand conflict for the *world*, between evangelical Christianity and formalism has occurred in that land of science. The great Neander, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Ullmann, Schleiermacher, and others have faced the foe, and accomplished the grand triumph of modern times in respect to Christianity. Instead of condemning them, as we would the sceptical Strauss and his coadjutors, though some of their sentiments are very erroneous, we should bestow upon them our heartiest thanks for the good which they have accomplished. What affects Christianity in Germany affects it here, and

what the great evangelic minds have accomplished there we must accomplish here. We must make the person of Christ the grand central point of Christianity. That must be the corner stone of our biblical theology. In order to grapple with the erroneous tendencies of the age in which we live, we must go to the fountain of truth and holiness—we must sit at Jesus' feet and learn of him. We must become, theoretically and experimentally acquainted with the doctrines of the cross.

In answer then to the inquiry presented above, whether there are not certain principles which may be adopted as the basis of truth and of the Bible, and which will be admitted by all intelligent minds, we would say still farther :

One class of theologians maintain that *tradition*, as well as the Bible, lies at the basis of theology. They even consider the former as more authoritative than the latter. To the dogmas of a pretended infallible church, even the word of God must succumb. *That* must be interpreted in accordance with the decisions of her councils. To refute these pretensions, we must show that the church has always been fallible and her decisions often erroneous. We must prove that the oral traditions of the Jews, which were subsequently reduced to writing in the Talmud, are not so authoritative as the Bible, since truths and facts handed down orally from father to son, would be much more likely to be corrupted, partially suppressed, or forgotten, than carefully written documents. The former were likely to be delivered in a very different form, by different persons, at different times. Many truths which the Saviour delivered to his disciples, not being recorded, have been irretrievably lost. In oral tradition there is more opportunity for fraud and corruption by design. These and other considerations which might be presented, show that the safest basis for our religious belief—for *biblical theology*, is the *Bible*. Let us adhere to that. It has a foundation which cannot be moved. Let reason, philosophy, and learning be employed to defend the word of God and its holy precepts from the assaults of infidelity; but let the Christian theologian take that blessed book alone as the basis of his creed. But to the sceptic, we must prove by reason,

as we have shown above—by principles which he will admit, that a revelation has been made to man, and that the Bible is that revelation, and thus compel him, by principles which he cannot reject, to receive the Bible as the basis of truth.

Various text books on biblical or doctrinal theology have been published. This branch of theological science was not brought into the form of a system until near the close of the last century, when G. T. Zachariæ issued his great work in two and subsequently in four volumes, at Göttingen. A fifth was afterwards added by Vollborth. About the same time Ammon prepared a work of a similar character, and then G. C. Storr issued his *Doctrinæ Christianæ*, which was translated into German by T. G. Flatt, and into English by Dr. Shumacker. This work has been adopted as a text book in some of our theological seminaries. It is highly valued in this country, though some critics in Germany regard it as not sufficiently scientific. F. P. Gabler, of Altorf, issued a work in which he endeavored to avoid the defects of Storr, and establish biblical theology on a truly historical basis. G. L. Baur and G. P. C. Kaiser followed, and the learned De Wette and Baumgarten-Crusius endeavored to improve upon Baur and Kaiser. In 1836, D. G. Conrad Von Cölln published a valuable work upon this subject, which has been highly spoken of in Germany. Gramberg, Varke, G. F. Œhler, Bertholdt, Gfrörer, Pähne, George, Usteri, Frommann, and Köstlin have, within a few years, issued works bearing upon this subject.

VI. *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology* are intimately connected, and may properly be considered together. The former is *really* one method of interpretation; or, as in all sermons, one or more passages of Scripture are expounded. Homiletics now includes not only sermonizing, but pulpit oratory, the posture of the preacher and hearers, the time and place of preaching, and all the exercises of public worship. *Pastoral Theology* includes the private visits of a pastor to the people of his charge, the proper instructions to be given according to the circumstances of each, and other parochial duties which are well understood.

These are important branches of theology, as the pulpit furnishes that practical form of Christianity which is in-

tended to act upon the masses of mankind, and is the grand agency, which, aided by the mighty Spirit from on high, is designed to convert a lost and wretched world. What we have said above on biblical theology, applies with equal force to the pulpit. The sacred desk is the place for sound argument—the defence of the doctrines of Christianity, as well as for more practical instructions. Perhaps one fault of our time is, that the pulpit is too hortatory, and not sufficiently doctrinal. Every sermon should be based on some principle of our holy religion. The intellect must first be convinced if the preacher would effectually reach the heart. Such a course characterized the preaching of the apostles. They held up the great doctrines of the Cross, and especially that one of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, and exhibited in their sermons beautiful *simplicity*, great *earnestness*, and holy *boldness*. They did not attempt to prepare elegant addresses. They endeavored to present the truth intelligibly. Their eloquence was that of *truth* presented with simplicity and pathos, with a realizing sense in the speakers of the awful realities of eternity, which were soon to be revealed to their hearers. They were intent upon benefiting souls, and spoke as dying men to their dying fellow-men. They feared nothing but to disobey their Lord. From tortures and death, which were often before them, they did not shrink. Resolved to go forward, they pressed through every danger to fulfil their great commission. But when those holy men passed from the scenes of this world, that noble simplicity and pathos began to decline in their successors. Still there were some shining lights among the early Christian Fathers on whom the mantles of the apostles seemed to rest. Their discourses were addressed to *catechumens* and to the faithful. Those addressed to the former were not particularly argumentative nor doctrinal, while those addressed to the latter were both. After the time of the Clements, the Gregories, Chrysostom, and their contemporaries, the pulpit lamentably degenerated until the dawn of the Reformation. Hottinger informs us that a collection of sermons prepared by the theological faculty of Vienna, in 1430, contains a minute history of the thirty pieces of silver which Judas received for be-

traying Jesus. Their history is traced back to Zerah, who coined them. Subsequently passing through various hands, they reached the Virgin Mary as a present from the Magi. Other things as ridiculous appeared in the theology of that period. A corrupt, oppressive, and pretended infallible church had the control of learning and religion, and the pulpit expatiated upon little else than the intercession of departed saints, the authority and infallibility of the church, the importance of granting indulgences, purgatory, relics, and a variety of other themes as ridiculous as they are unscriptural. From the sixth to the twelfth centuries, the authority for doctrines was not the Bible, but the writings of the Fathers. During the dark ages, the grand inquiry was, in respect to all religious matters, what is the decision of the Pope? That, though based on tradition, must be received without examination.

But when the light of the Reformation dispelled the gloom of that dismal period, the pulpit regained, to some extent, its primitive simplicity and fidelity. Still the acerbity of controversialists, and the worldliness of professed Christians, dimmed the light of evangelical religion. Dry, theoretical speculations on morality and religion, an erroneous, secular theology, took the place of the simple, primitive doctrines of the cross, and such evangelical, devoted men as Hanserd Knollys, Baxter, Howe, and their compeers were denounced as fanatics. The sad result was, that the pulpit as well as every department of theology was secularized, and Christendom was rent by the Arian, Socinian, and other heresies, which eventually led, in many cases, to the rankest infidelity. The art of sermonizing, as far as finished style, intellectual and ratiocinative power, and brilliant oratory are concerned, has reached a high state of perfection; but, in many cases, even among evangelical denominations, the desire for elegant composition and intellectual refinement, has caused the real object of the pulpit to be lost sight of. The plain, pointed truths of the gospel, the stern, uncompromising doctrines of the cross, have been avoided for fear of giving offence, and not unfrequently are sermons the mere hortatory efforts of an almost thoughtless mind. We think, however, that there is begin-

ning to be a feeling in favor of returning to the practice of doctrinal preaching, or promising more stability in respect to the pastoral relation and greater success in saving the lost.

The influence of rationalism on the pulpit has been anticipated in our remarks on biblical theology, and need not be farther discussed.

VII. *Ecclesiastical History* and *Apologetics* are important departments of theology. The latter we have anticipated in our remarks on biblical theology, as it is intimately connected with that department, and, in connection with polemics, might not inappropriately be called the controversial part of biblical or doctrinal theology. Polemics relates to the great controversies which have shaken the religious world since the commencement of the Christian era. The controversy in the apostolic age in respect to justification by faith, or by the deeds of the law; that between Paganism and Christianity in the second century; that in respect to restoring the lapsed to church fellowship and millenarianism in the third; the Miletian and Arian controversies in the fourth century; that of Pelagius in the fifth; the Manichæan and Marcionite controversies in the eighth century, and others in later times, are instances both of apologetics and polemics. *Apologies*, which were defences of Christianity, should be distinguished from polemical discussions, which sometimes, indeed, embrace all the doctrines of Christianity, but usually relate to one doctrine, or the creed of a particular sect or party. Formal apologies in favor of Christianity were not written until after the apostolic age. In these, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Chrysostom, and their cotemporaries participated. Not until the eighteenth century did apologetics become a separate branch of theology. After Christianity was fully established, polemics, for the most part, took the place of apologetics. In modern times we have had some able apologies; but generally the controversies of the present age partake more of the polemic than of the apologetic form.

Ecclesiastical History narrates the external and internal condition of Christianity from its establishment to the present time. The *external* condition includes prosperous and adverse events, and the *internal* condition relates to the leaders of the

church, her doctrines, laws, worship, heresies, etc. This is a subject of great magnitude, and we scarcely have space in the present article to name minutely even the *divisions* under which it should be considered. Dr. Credner divides it into the history of the spread of Christianity; history of the doctrines of the church; history of the moral influence of Christianity; history of religious confessions and fanaticisms arising from Christianity; history of civil constitutions in Christian countries; history of the relation of the church to the state; ecclesiastical antiquities, or archæology; history of some Christian sects, such as the Jewish Christians, Roman Catholics; history of the Protestant church, of Presbyterians, Methodists, etc.; church history of some countries and nations; history of Christian literature. Most of these may be subdivided into minor divisions.

This department of theological science has been cultivated from an early period. The first ecclesiastical history which has been handed down to us, is the *Acts of the Apostles*, by Luke, the evangelist. Hegesippus, in the second century, wrote a church history in five books, which is not extant, with the exception of a few fragments preserved by Eusebius. The work of Eusebius is the first uninspired ecclesiastical history which has reached our times. It gives a fragmentary history of the church down to A. D. 324. The authorities which he consulted, according to Flügge, were sixty in number, many of which are now lost. In the fifth century Socrates prepared a more impartial and critical history than that of Eusebius, extending down to A. D. 439. Ecclesiastical histories were also written by Hermias Sozomenus, of Palestine, extending to A. D. 423; by Theodoret, of Cyprus, extending to A. D. 429; by Philostorgius, to 425; by Rufinus, of Aquileia, to 410; Sulpicius Severus, to 400; Theodorus, of Constantinople, to 518; Evargius, of Antioch, to 594; and Cassiodorus, to about 550. Very few scholars distinguished themselves in this department of theology during the dark ages. In the eighth century, Gregory, of Tours, wrote the church history of the Franks, and Bede prepared a history of the old British and Anglo-Saxon church. In the ninth century, Haymo, Anastatius, and some others

prepared meagre histories of the church. As these works were founded on traditions which historians did not dare to question, they were very deficient. During the latter part of the eleventh and the first of the twelfth century, classical literature revived, and free inquiry began to prevail. But it was not till after the Reformation had been fully ushered in, that important works upon this subject appeared. In Italy, Baronius, a zealous Catholic, published a church history in twelve volumes, folio, in 1588—1607, at Rome. Zaccaria, Gallandi, Muratori, Paolo Sarpi, and other Italians wrote works bearing upon this subject. About the same time, the French scholars, Godeau, Natalis Alexander (Noël), Claude Fleury, the eloquent Bossuet, Tillemont and others, contributed important additions to this department. In Germany, the Roman Catholic scholars, Dannemayr, Stolberg, Ritter, Hefele, Hurter, and others, prepared ecclesiastical histories; but it is chiefly to Protestants that we are to look for critical works in this department. In 1552, Matthias Flacius issued the celebrated *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, in thirteen volumes, in which he defends Protestantism. The labor and expense in the preparation of the work were immense. J. H. Hottinger, in 1655—1667, issued, in nine volumes, a counterpart to the Centuries. Important works on this subject have been published by F. Spanheim, of Leyden, the French historians, J. and S. Basnage, Beza, J. Claude, J. Beausobre and others, Heidegger in Switzerland, W. Cave, N. Lardner, and others. In 1699, G. Arnold issued at Frankfort an ecclesiastical history, in which he regarded the *sects*, and not the general church, either Catholic or Protestant, as the channel of progress for the Christian life. He endeavored to make church history a delineation of true piety. Milner followed in the same track. The same evangelical style has been revived in the admirable and unsurpassed work of Augustus Neander. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, ecclesiastical history has been cultivated almost exclusively in Germany. After the time of Mosheim, it was considered as necessary for the church historian not only to relate events, but to examine the causes and secret springs which were instrumental in producing them. This method gave more free-

dom to the historian, and his investigations, in some instances, were pushed so far, that he lost sight of the Providence of God in history, and endeavored to account for everything from natural causes. Hence was ushered in rationalism, and all of its attendant evils. But notwithstanding its boldness, sophistry, and impiety, its critical and learned investigations have greatly advanced sacred philology, and almost every department of theological science. For this we ought to acknowledge our indebtedness.

In 1718, E. Wiseman, and in 1755, J. Lawrence von Mosheim, formed an era in this department. The latter, especially, investigated impartially and critically the sources and causes of events, and was, at the same time, evangelical. He took the first rank as an ecclesiastical historian in the last century, and even to this day, particularly out of Germany, he is held in high repute. Pfaff, S. J. Baumgarten, Cotta, and others wrote works inferior to that of Mosheim, and in 1810 was completed the ponderous and able work of J. M. Schröckh, which, with Tzschirner's continuation, made forty-five volumes. It was diffuse and rationalistic, but valuable on account of its treasury of learning. Spittler, Stäudlin, Roos, J. G. and W. F. Walch, J. A. Cramer and others prepared works upon this subject in the latter part of the last century. Planck, who died in 1833, stood upon the verge of rationalism, but has given us a valuable history of the doctrines of Protestantism. The learned Venema, of Holland, and subsequently Turretin, P. E. Jablonsky, Münscher, and others prepared less voluminous histories. We ought to mention the late History of the Reformation by Merle D'Aubigné, which has had an immense circulation in the English language. It is well written and eminently evangelical, but based on more elaborate German works. The most distinguished ecclesiastical historians of the neological school are J. S. Semler of Halle, Henke, Vater, Schmidt of Giessen, Rettberg, Danz, and Gieseler. The latter is a rationalist, though his neological views are not apparent in his ecclesiastical history.

Near the close of the last century, an attempt was made to scientifically refute rationalism by such scholars as Jacobi,

Hamann, Schleiermacher, Herder, Schilling, and others; and as we have stated in our remarks on biblical theology, the tendency in Germany is decidedly in favor of evangelical Christianity. There are really two schools in that land of scholars. One is that of Neander and Schleiermacher, and has been advocated in general by such men as Rheinwald, Vogt, Hossbach, Semisch, Jacobi, Henry, Liebner, Binde-mann, and others. These writers, on many subjects, differ widely in their views. They are liberal, and sometimes sceptical; still they admit the personality of God, and the tendency of their theology is decidedly evangelical. Scientific research and learning have great influence with them, and they listen attentively to arguments from any source—from those of the most diverse sentiments; still they cling to the Rock of Ages, as the only true foundation of their system.

The other is the *Hegelian* school, whose advocates admit Christianity to be a religion, but not miraculous—not divine. It is not, in their estimation, particularly a personal matter, but a thing of the intellect—not practical, but theoretical. This school does not admit the personality of God or man. It makes Christianity entirely objective, while the Neandrian school makes it subjective, a reality, a matter of the heart. The learned F. C. Baur of Tübingen, Schwyler, and even the *extreme* of rationalism, D. F. Strauss, are advocates of the Hegelian philosophy. Another class of able writers are included in this school, but evidently lean towards evangelical religion. Such are Dorner, Mareinecke, Ullmann, Leo, Daub, Kliefoth, G. A. Meier, Ranke, and others.

There is, in Germany, a remarkable spirit of scientific research, and it will undoubtedly increase. Almost every shade of belief is found among critics of the same school. They push their inquiries with the greatest boldness and learning, in every direction, and we can but believe that such untiring efforts and profound criticisms will eventually be overruled by a wise and merciful Providence, and result, as we have already intimated, in the advancement of evangelical Christianity.

ART. V.—ORIGEN.

Our readers have not, it is presumed, forgotten the truly learned and thorough examination of Origen's supposed testimony in favor of infant baptism by Dr. Chase, in an earlier number of this Review;* and will perhaps be led, by the interest which that article awakened in their minds, to welcome a biographical sketch of Origen. The writer is greatly indebted for the facts presented in this narrative to the able work of Professor Redepenning, the title of which is given below.†

Origen was born in Alexandria, in the year of our Lord 185; and before his death he obtained from his iron diligence the surname Adamantius. His parents were both Christians; and were possessed of a moderate estate. His father, Leonidas, has been called, by mistake, a bishop. No contemporaneous author alludes to any office of the kind. Yet he belonged to the more respectable members of the church, and besides a good knowledge of the Scriptures, had a somewhat liberal education, and was therefore able to direct the studies of his son. Neander conjectures that he was a rhetorician, a teacher of the Greek language and literature. Christians hesitated, and indeed mostly refused, to send their children to heathen schools through fear of idolatry; but they did not fear to *give* instruction, nor did pagan families scruple to employ them. Literary and scientific culture was eagerly sought, and a Christian who could bestow it readily found employment, even in the day of persecution. By not a few the church was held in great respect, and a Christian teacher might be chosen at Alexandria in preference to another.

There were now at Alexandria two classes of Christians, the one favorable to Greek learning and the allegorical method of interpretation; the other hostile to liberal culture and tenacious of the literal sense of Scripture. Of this latter

* Vol. xix., p. 180, sq.

† Origenes. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre von Ernst Rud. Redepenning. 1841-46.

class certain monks went so far as to affirm that God is corporeal. But there is no ground for the conjecture that Leonidas belonged to this party, and defended a strictly literal interpretation of the Scriptures. He conducted the religious education of his son, and required him daily to commit a portion of divine truth to memory. How far he attempted to explain or enforce this truth we are not informed. He may have occasionally intimated something to his favorite child in regard to a deeper, spiritual sense of the recited word. At most, however, he spoke only by hints. But "the child is father of the man," and Origen soon began to betray the spirit of his riper years, to seek for some occult, profound, divine import in the simplest narratives of holy men. If the obvious verbal sense of any passage afforded a rare and sublime thought, he asked for nothing further; but if it seemed to be commonplace or contradictory to any other passage of the Bible, he felt called upon to look about for a different and better interpretation. He often questioned his father upon difficult passages, but the latter was unable in many cases to give assistance, and professed to disapprove his premature inquisitiveness, referring him for the time being to the literal and obvious meaning. Yet Leonidas rejoiced in secret at the intelligence of his son, and finding him asleep, would uncover his breast and kiss it as a dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost. We may therefore presume that he discerned with a father's interest and a Christian's gratitude the power of Origen's mind, and the elevation of his spirit; but at the same time, knew the danger to which an ardent and speculative intellect is exposed in youth, and wisely strove to make his son postpone the investigation of themes especially high and difficult, until a later period of life. He rejoiced, indeed, but it was with trembling and prayer. This appears to be an impartial judgment upon Leonidas; and it takes away all foundation for the opinions that he advocated a strictly verbal interpretation of God's word. He was an Alexandrian Christian and scholar; and the defects as well as excellences of Origen may, without doubt, be traced to the father's influence, in some degree at least. Geometry, arithmetic, grammar, and rhetoric, were

among the branches of study which Origen prosecuted under the direction of his father. These sciences were considered preparatory to a philosophical education. Origen appears to have known, in early life, the venerable Pantænus, and to have heard his instructions; not, however, as a regular pupil; for ancient writers never mention such a relation of these eminent teachers to each other. But already before the death of Leonidas, Origen had attended the lectures of Titus Flavius Clement. While enjoying his tuition he became acquainted with Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, whose parents were friends to his own. The words of Clement fell upon a good soil. As he convinced old men and young philosophers and scholars, of the divine origin and character of Christianity, of the vanity of idol-worship, of the manifold errors in pagan philosophy, and of the affinity which its higher doctrines bore to the word of God; as he discoursed with eloquence, learning, and enthusiasm in defence of the holy religion which Origen had been taught from childhood, and had accepted with a faith that never wavered till death; the effect must have been great upon his future successor's mind.

In A. D. 202, when Origen was seventeen years of age, the persecution of *Septimius Severus* began and raged with unprecedented severity. Since the death of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 180, Christians had enjoyed rest and peace. There had been no attempt, at least by the Emperor, to arrest the spread of Christianity, and no organized and formidable effort from any quarter to oppress the believers. In particular cities or provinces they were, to be sure, ever liable to abuse and destruction; for no law shielded them in the practice, far less in the propagation, of a *religio illicita*. Yet the cruel Commodus protected them; and for a time Septimius Severus was not hostile: perhaps, because he owed his recovery from a dangerous sickness to the holy anointing oil given him, it is reported, by a Christian.* At length, however, in A. D. 202, he prohibited, under severe penalties, any of his subjects from embracing Christianity. *Judeos fieri sub gravi*

* Tertullian ad. Scap. c. 4.

pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. Though such a decree might seem to protect those who were previously members of the church, Neander is inclined to believe that it "would pronounce all to be criminal, *without exception*, who had ever become Christians." At the same time the laws against secret societies were renewed, and these laws might easily be turned against Christians. In fact, persecutions soon broke out in all the provinces, raging so frightfully in many parts of the empire, that the last times were thought to be at the door, and continuing until the close of this Emperor's reign. The Egyptian Church, which in spite of earlier assaults, was now spread over all Thebais, suffered severely. Christians were taken from all parts of the provinces to Alexandria, there to be tried and executed. Among the first who were seized in this hour of darkness was Leonidas, the father of Origen. There is no reason to believe he exposed himself to danger unsought. For Pantæus, Clement, and the more intelligent Christians of Alexandria did not feel at liberty to seize the crown of martyrdom, and take the kingdom of heaven, as it were, by violence. The words of Christ in Matt. x. 23, seemed to forbid such a course. Yet the youthful Origen vehemently longed to seal his faith by a baptism of fire and blood. He had scarcely reached his eighteenth year; but the attractions of life and the fear of death had no power over him. The imprisonment of his father matured his purpose of delivering himself to the authorities, and the entreaties of his mother were insufficient to change it. She then, it is said, concealed his clothes, and thus compelled him to remain at home. Yet he wrote to his father, urging him to be joyful and steadfast in his confession. His later treatise upon martyrdom may be only a fuller and more emphatic reiteration of this youthful appeal; but from the letter itself these words alone have been preserved: "Be careful not to change your mind on our account." *Ἐπεχε, μὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι φρονήσης.* Leonidas continued steadfast, was beheaded,* and his property con-

* According to the Roman Martyrology, on the 22d of April, A.D. 202.

fiscated by the government. Persecution was profitable to those in office.

Origen was the oldest of six children, now left with their mother to struggle against poverty. They were not, however, friendless. The primitive Christians, living in times which tried men's souls, were distinguished for mutual love and abundant almsgiving. A fund was established in each of the several churches, to be applied by the bishop in aid of the sick and destitute. The faithful contributed to this fund whenever they partook of the Lord's Supper, and many were thereby made glad in poverty. The mocker Lucian, and the apostate Julian, both bear witness to the liberal charity of Christians. A rich and noble lady received Origen into her house. Led to Christianity by an earnest longing after truth, she appears to have been too indulgent to all who laid claim to special wisdom. A Gnostic from Antioch, Paul by name, was at this time residing in her family as an adopted son. He not only enjoyed her confidence, but to some extent also that of many orthodox believers who resorted to his lectures. Origen could not avoid often coming in contact with him; yet nothing could move him to join with such a teacher in prayer. He was not led astray by the compliance of others; but even now exhibited the firmness with which he always held fast to known truth, and which protected him through life from fatal errors in speculation. With redoubled energy he perfected those branches of knowledge which he had prosecuted under the direction of his father, that he might soon be able to earn a livelihood, and leave his somewhat difficult and disagreeable position.

It has been thought that Origen betrayed, in his treatment of the Antiochian Gnostic, a kind of bigoted sternness altogether unlike and alien to the mild and charitable judgment which, at a later period, was in a high degree characteristic of him. Yet his dislike to the errorist was by no means the expression of contracted, intolerant zeal. The dualistic Gnosis of Syria could not fail deeply to wound every lively Christian feeling; and no earnest believer could unite in such a prayer as must proceed from the lips of one who defended that system. Long after, Origen says: "*Melius est cum*

nullo orare, quam cum malis orare." His feelings were very ardent, his independence of will and tenacity of purpose were very great, and his natural abilities were quite extraordinary. Holy zeal and devotion, enthusiasm for the gospel, a burning desire for knowledge, and unwavering faith, were the glowing elements united in his heart. Thus furnished and inspired, he entered upon the great work of life.

From the persecution already mentioned, the principal teachers in the capital of Egypt had fled; not through fear of suffering, but from a sense of duty. This we know to have been the case with Clement. The Catechetical school was broken up. In the meantime Origen began to give lessons in grammar and ancient literature. He was successful. Several pagans applied for instruction in the Christian faith. Two of these, Plutarch and Heraclas, were converted, as the first fruits of his labor. They were brothers. The former died not long after, a faithful martyr of Jesus; and the latter became an ascetic, a catechetical teacher, and subsequently bishop of Alexandria. Origen, though not yet eighteen years of age, was now regularly approved as a teacher by Demetrius. About this time Aquila was made Proconsul of Egypt, instead of Laetus. His entrance upon office was distinguished by redoubled cruelty to the Christians. The persecution, commenced the year before, broke out anew and more terribly. Origen drew attention to himself not only by teaching, but also by visiting and encouraging the imprisoned. He stood by them with all boldness even till the last moment. But he was wonderfully preserved. More than once was he stoned and dangerously injured, when he came to comfort the martyrs, and give them the fraternal kiss. He escaped many plots. At one time a mob, strengthened by the imperial soldiery, surrounded his house; but he escaped by flight; at another, a crowd of heathen seized him, cut the hair from his head, and leading him to the steps of the temple of Serapis, commanded him to give palm-branches, according to the custom of the priests of this temple, to all who entered. He took the palm branches and distributed them, crying with a loud voice: "Take not the palms of the idol, but the palms of Christ."

Plutarch fell among the first sacrifices in the renewed persecution. Many other pupils of Origen soon followed; Serenus was burned; Heraclides, a catechumen, and Hero, recently baptized, died by the sword; in like manner, after dreadful tortures, fell a second Serenus. Origen stood by them to the last. Escaping we know not how, as many a bold man does, his reputation and the number of his hearers daily increased. Educated heathen came to him for instruction. He now sold copies of the classics, which he had made, for a stipend of *four oboli per diem*, that he might be free from care, and able to instruct gratuitously. This event in the life of Origen reminds us of Reuchlin, in Paris, learning kalligraphy and transcribing Greek authors to procure money for the purchase of books. Many a youth resorted to this means for a support during the Middle Ages.

It must be observed that the daily income thus secured by Origen, was less than *five cents*; a sum quite too small for his comfortable support. It was, however, in his own opinion amply sufficient. Abstaining from wine and every luxury, going barefoot for a series of years, and having but one garment, which imperfectly sheltered him from the cold, the pittance received was enough; "the barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail." He was an ascetic. He believed it wise to treat the body with rigor. After teaching all day, he spent most of the night in searching the Scriptures. When he slept, it was upon the bare ground. Jerome applied to him the epithet *Χαλκέντερος*, and a frame of brass or adamant could hardly have endured more than did that of Origen. His health was indeed injured by this severity; but not so much as to interrupt his labors, or quench the ardor of his zeal. The language of Paul, "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things," and, "I keep under my body and bring it into subjection," could easily be made to sanction a course of life favored by the spirit of the age, and recommended by the practice of great numbers who were thought to be preëminently holy. Yet not until a later period did Christians fully yield to this spirit, and imitate the Jewish *Therapeutæ*, by retiring from active life, and devoting themselves to meditation.

Clement, it will be recollected, had written a work entitled, "What rich man can be saved?" exhibiting the formidable temptations awaiting those who possess wealth and the small probability of their entering the kingdom of God. Origen adopted the views of his teacher with his usual decision. He loved poverty. In a writing composed some thirty years later, he reckons himself among the poor, and in a homily he says: "I tremble when I remember that Jesus demands of his disciples the renunciation of all property. I would therefore pronounce my own sentence before all my accusers—I will not conceal my guilt, lest I become doubly sinful. I will preach the requirement of Christ, though I am conscious of having failed to comply with it hitherto. Let us hasten, then, to become priests of the Lord, and have no heritage upon earth, but have the Lord for our portion."

It is necessary to speak, also, of an act which Origen is said to have performed about this time. He had committed the work of classical teaching to others, and was himself wholly employed in giving religious instruction. Not only men, but also women, married and unmarried, were his hearers; and during the persecution, it was often necessary for them, in order to avoid danger, to employ the hours of night in listening to his words. Wishing to prevent all occasion for suspicion and slander, we are told that he fulfilled upon himself, in a literal sense, the word of Christ, in Matt. xix. 12. It is not to be supposed, for a moment, that our Saviour had reference in this passage, to physical mutilation, but only to abstinence from marriage, "for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Neither do his words, nor those of Paul,* favor the papal doctrine of clerical celibacy. But the act which Origen is said to have performed was in harmony with the spirit of the age. Several of the Roman Emperors enacted laws against its perpetration. It is not, therefore, strange, that a young and ardent Christian, ready to practice the extremest self-denial, and eager to count all things but loss for Christ, should commit such an error.—But if, as may be true, he was chargeable with such a deed, he shrank from having it

* 1 Cor. vii. 32. sq.

known. Demetrius, however, was soon aware of it, and at first admired his courage, and exhorted him to continue the more in his work of instruction. At a later period, however, he charged Origen with it as a sin and folly. In his riper age the latter understood the words of Jesus correctly, and more than once warns others against a literal interpretation of them. In a note upon the passage, he says: . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ Χριστὸν θεοῦ, τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ σάρκα καὶ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ποτὲ νοήσαντες, νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκοντες.

For several years we find Origen steadily engaged in his catechetical labors. His efforts were unwearied. His educated hearers constantly increased. Every variety of speculative belief was entertained by them. Though by no means ignorant of philosophy, he coveted a more intimate acquaintance with it as taught by the several schools. At this time *Ammonius Saccas* was at the zenith of his fame in Alexandria. This illustrious man, born of Christian parents, endeavored to unite philosophy with Christianity. Porphyry asserts that he abandoned the religion of his youth, and observed the rites of paganism; but Jerome and Eusebius both deny the truth of this statement. Their testimony is decisive. Origen, now about twenty-six years of age, repaired to the school of Ammonius in order to perfect his knowledge of Greek speculation. An eloquent exposition of Platonic ideas and an ingenious reconciliation of them with Christianity, rewarded his attention. It is to be feared that Christian truth was often adjusted to the wisdom of man, rather than the reverse. Yet there is no reason to suppose Ammonius gave an essentially new direction to the mind of his distinguished pupil. He at most strengthened an existing bias, and illustrated his method of linking together speculative and revealed truth. The attempt to combine current philosophical opinions with the doctrines taught by inspiration, has been made in every age since the advent of Christ. Consciously or unconsciously, men will do this, and the more false and pagan the philosophy of any period, the sadder will be its effect upon religion. Alexandria was famous for the eclectic tendency of its scholars. The feeling was almost universal, that all systems of belief were in possession of more or less truth. Origen

shared in this feeling, and was pleased to have his pupils investigate every kind of philosophy except the Epicurean. This he regarded as essentially atheistic and pernicious. It was a plant from which no honey could be extracted. Affected thus by the *genius loci* and imbued with the spirit of his age, it is not wonderful that Origen erred in some of his opinions, and often made wretched work of interpretation. The writings of Philo, Plato, Longinus, and others had quite as much to do with his views as did those of Ammonius. Yet the lessons now taken doubtless enabled him to carry out more effectually his plan of teaching. This required him to instruct those addicted to paganism, first in language, mathematics, and other preliminary studies; then in heathen philosophy, selecting the good and rejecting the evil; and lastly in Christianity, showing the affinity of whatever was good in human speculation with the divine religion. The method pursued by Origen, frequently resulted in the conversion of his pupils. Many were thus added to the church. But it may be a question whether they were all so entirely alienated from their early belief, and so fully persuaded of their duty to serve Christ alone, as might have been desirable.

In A.D. 211, *Severus* died, and the persecution ceased. Origen availed himself of this opportunity to visit Rome. He wished to know the venerable church in the metropolis, and believed fraternal interchange of thought advantageous to piety. *Zephyrinus* was bishop over the Christians in Rome. The work of Hippolytus, recently brought to light, does not give him a very high character. Yet educated in the "eternal city," he was doubtless a genuine Roman in spirit and policy. He could appreciate the formal, organic, visible church; the value of tradition, order, and law: but he can hardly have possessed any great aptitude or relish for devout speculation, any proper sense of the inherent beauty of truth, any just idea of the spiritual body of Christ. With such a man Origen found, we think, little sympathy. His enthusiasm for study, his quick and restless fancy, his wide and bold range of thought, his allegorical method of interpretation, his unworldly self-denying spirit, must awaken in the Roman quite

as much wonder and doubt as love and delight. Origen's stay was brief, and did not materially change his views of Christianity. He was far from becoming a churchman. He always believed the faith of merely nominal Christians to be vain. He distinguished between the visible and invisible church. By the true church of Christ he understood the union and fellowship of the saints in heaven and on earth. All these are joined together, he taught, by an intimate spiritual communion. Thus united, they are the body of the Lord, chosen and quickened by Him. The church is old as the world; in a certain sense, in the purpose of God, it was before the foundation of the earth. It has no spot or wrinkle, is holy and without blame. Those alone who truly believe are its members. It is that "Jerusalem above" into which no one of earthly mind can rise or enter; and whose citizens all possess a spiritual vision which discerns the invisible. This is the true ark delivering from the flood; out of it there is no salvation; whoever leaves it is guilty of his own death. That organization which bears the name of the church, although it is called the house of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth, always contains usurers and money changers, like those which Christ scourged out of the temple. When their sins are outbreaking, and repentance does not follow admonition in private or before the church, they are to be cast out. "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee." This signifies, that if the presbyter and servant of the word acts contrary to the discipline of the church and the rules of the gospel, and thus offends the brethren, he should be excluded and rejected by them in a full assembly. Because of one sinner the curse rested upon Israel, and they were overcome by their enemies. Church officers, he says, are the eye of the body; they should be distinguished for watchfulness, circumspection, foresight, caring for all. Though their dignity is royal, they must be servants of the church, full of humility. The clerical office does not insure the salvation of its possessor. Let the servant of the church strive earnestly for true dignity, which should be greater in a priest than in a deacon; and greater in a deacon than a layman. It will be found, he says, that church officers

are superior in virtue and excellence to heathen governors. Yet immoral, avaricious priests and bishops are not wanting, who accumulate wealth from the church, and forget that spiritual gifts and teaching should never be venal. The ambitious also press into these offices. Bad rulers are often a punishment to the church, for lukewarmness and sin. But let the priest know that the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which he bears, are chastity, integrity, and every other virtue. Whoever, enlightened by the Father, can honestly repeat Peter's confession, is also a rock, on which the Lord builds his church. According to the verbal sense, Christ's language was directed to Peter, but its deeper meaning applies to every one who is like Peter. Whoever possesses that union of doctrines, works, and thoughts which constitute full salvation, is the church which God has built; the impure soul is neither a rock, nor the church, nor any part of it.

These views, maintained through life by Origen, prove that his visit to the world's capital did not give a Roman turn to his conception of the church. Outward catholicism, an imitation of Jewish theocracy, was there predominant, and under Zephyrinus it began first to exhibit a definite and stable form. Fortunately, we think, he was not the man to mould the opinions of Origen.

It may be noticed, that, in Bunsen's opinion, Origen listened at this time to a discourse from Hippolytus; for the latter mentions having preached before the former. If this hypothesis be correct, we may infer the acquaintance of these two Christian scholars. Hippolytus would be unlikely to notice the presence of a stranger, and make record of the same in a treatise for the public. Besides, the usual church letters taken by Christians on a journey must introduce Origen as a catechetical teacher to the pastors, wherever he might pause on his way.

It will be remembered that two brothers, Plutarch and Heraclas, were the first of Origen's pupils who received the faith. One had scarcely put on the white robe of baptism, when he was called to the honor of martyrdom. The other, Heraclas, was preserved for a high office in the church. Soon after his conversion he began to attend the lectures of Am-

monius Saccas. More than four years he listened to this eloquent teacher, and at length assumed the philosopher's cloak. Yet his interest in sacred learning appears to have continued, and his character to have been irreproachable. For Origen appeals to the example of Heraclas in justification of his own course when he resorted to Ammonius for instruction in philosophy. And now, when after a short absence he returned to his native city, and was urged by *Demetrius* to resume his labors in the catechetical school, he chose Heraclas, as a man of zeal, knowledge, and eloquence, for his associate, and committed to him the work of elementary teaching, reserving for himself the guidance of those who were more advanced. By their mutual and incessant efforts the school reached its culminating point. Pupils came to them in throngs from morning till night. Bible readings and interpretations were the basis of their instructions: they convinced their new pupils of the foolishness of idolatry, led them from the worship of visible objects to the Creator of all, showed them clearly by many predictions that Christ was the promised Saviour, and made those who were qualified for it acquainted with the deeper import of Scripture. "To some," says Origen, "who can be led only to a believing reception of Christian truth we make the simple announcement of it. Others we instruct scientifically, and as much as possible by way of question and answer."

About this time (A. D. 215), Origen, against the custom of the age, learned the Hebrew language. He desired to lay a sure foundation for his biblical studies, and to compare the Septuagint version of the Old Testament with the original text. He imagined that Hebrew was the primitive language spoken by Adam, and conjectured that it might become again the universal dialect before the end of the world. The various tongues, with the exception of Hebrew, are the work, he thinks, of those angels to whom the Lord has committed the different kingdoms and lands. It is his will, however, that men should call upon him in all languages. Names, too, bear an essential relation to the things designated by them. We must not overlook the interpretation of names; whoever wishes perfectly to understand the Holy

Scriptures must give strict attention to their significance. The appellations of places stand related to that which Jesus wrought in them. Names, also, have a mysterious power by their very sound: that of Jesus works miracles; demons fear it. Views of this kind explain Origen's wish to understand the Hebrew.

Yet he believed the Septuagint no less inspired and reliable than the original. He was ready to find a hidden glory in language most obscure or utterly devoid of sense. In one place he justifies his faith in the inspiration of the Bible by these arguments. Revealed truth, he says, has gained an influence beyond that exercised by any system of human wisdom; it has been already received by nearly all nations. This fact confirms the prophecies; for they have foretold it. Moreover in the law, the psalms, and the prophets we find the life, the sufferings, and the death of Christ delineated, and his resurrection announced beforehand. Besides, a higher power was manifest in all the works of the apostles, and this guarantees the divine origin of their doctrine. We are also certain of the same by inner experience; for that breath of the spirit which gave origin to these writings, still visits the reader. Before Christ's advent, the divinity of the Holy Scriptures could not be fully proved; now their internal economy, their godlike character, their deep, spiritual meaning are clear to the eyes of all: the Old Testament has been unveiled by the New. Nor is the latter at all inferior to the former; one and the same spirit, proceeding from the same God, did for the evangelists and apostles what it had done for the prophets. The entire record bears this spirit; and neither the law nor the prophets, neither the gospel nor the apostolic letters, contain anything in which the fulness of the Divine Majesty does not come down to us. "Yet he found passages where the letter seemed to him untenable;" where he could only relieve his mind by spiritualizing the meaning. And he was led to say "that these things so untenable according to the letter—these mythical coverings of a higher sense are interspersed, as stones of stumbling, for the purpose of exciting men to deeper investigation."* He

*Neander, vol. I. p. 555.

thought that much of the Holy Writ was capable of three-fold interpretation, *literal*, *allegorical*, and *spiritual*; adapted respectively to the man of sense, the man of faith, and the man of knowledge.

Entertaining such views of God's word, it cannot be surprising that Origen derived less benefit from the knowledge of Hebrew than he otherwise might. Yet it was far from useless. It had an important bearing upon his labors for establishing the genuine text of the Septuagint in his Hexapla, and it incited others to engage in the same course of study. Interpretation gained much in the end, though Origen often spent his strength for nought, in consequence of having adopted a false theory. It is not, however, to be imagined that his knowledge of Hebrew was ever very perfect. To the last he relied, in a great measure, upon the opinions of converted Jews, whose ideas of exegesis were at this period Rabbinic or Cabbalistic, rather than correct.

In the meantime, while occupied in reading the Hebrew and comparing it with the Greek, he became acquainted, it is thought, with *Ambrose*, a respectable and wealthy Alexandrian, who in his search for higher truth had turned to one of the heretical sects of Egypt. Attracted by Origen's reputation for learning and profundity, Ambrose attended his lectures, and was led to renounce his errors. Henceforth they were closely united, and were mutual helps to each other.

Origen's reputation had now spread beyond Egypt. The governor of Arabia, probably a Roman, sent letters to Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, and to the prefect of Egypt, entreating them to send him Origen without delay. The particular subject upon which he desired this Christian scholar's instruction or advice is nowhere mentioned; but we are justified in supposing it to have been religious. Origen made the journey to Arabia, accomplished it would seem the object of it, and presently returned to Alexandria. He left a good name in Arabia, and in the course of our narrative we shall follow him thither again.

In the fifth year of his reign (A. D. 216), Caracalla led an army into the capital of Egypt. He had conceived an inextinguishable hatred against this city, as the source of many

biting sarcasms upon himself for the murder of his brother, and he came now to take signal revenge. *Dion Cassius* says: "But Caracalla, although professing great love for Alexander, wanted little of utterly destroying the people of his city. For hearing that he had been mocked and ridiculed by them for many other things, and especially for the murder of his brother, he rushed against Alexandria, concealing his wrath and pretending good will and love to them. But when he had entered the suburbs, having greeted by the right hand the principal men (who had come with certain religious mysteries), even as if about to make them his guests, he thereupon murdered them. Then putting his whole force under arms he hurled it into the city, whose streets and roofs he had preoccupied, and whose inhabitants he had forewarned to remain at home: and, to omit the particular calamities which overwhelmed the wretched city, he slew so many that, venturing to say nothing of their multitude, but writing deliberately, it could be of no consequence how many, or who of them perished; for *all* were thought worthy of death. A part of their property was plundered, and a part destroyed. Many of those who came with Caracalla were ignorantly slain; and strangers in great numbers also perished. For as the city was large and men in every part of it were cut down both by day and by night, it was impossible to distinguish any one, even had it been desired; they died wherever they happened to be, and their bodies were cast into deep trenches, in order that the greatness of the calamity might not be perceived by the survivors. The wrath of Caracalla fell heavily upon scholars." The museum, which had enjoyed the favor of both *Antonines*, was devoted to ruin; and those connected with it were murdered or driven into exile. *Herodian* relates, that the Emperor, under pretence of forming a Macedonian phalanx, called the young men of Alexandria together into the Gymnasium, where they were all cut in pieces by his soldiery.

Meanwhile Origen had secretly left the city and turned his face toward Jerusalem. He was welcomed to the Holy City by bishop *Alexander*, his old friend; and was requested to expound the Scriptures publicly in the church. He was still

a layman, and according to the usage which prevailed in Egypt was not authorized to preach. In Palestine, however, no such restriction obtained; and Origen, acting upon the principle laid down by Paul, complied with the request of his friend, little anticipating, it may be presumed, the consequences to follow. Leaving Jerusalem he went down to Cæsarea, and was received with great respect by *Theoctistus*, bishop of the church in that place. He was also here induced to speak in the church as an interpreter of God's word. Moreover, while in Palestine, he appears to have paid a flying visit to Jericho, and to have found there in a jar one of those manuscripts which he used in preparing the Hexapla. Whether he now made it an object to see the principal cities of the Holy Land cannot be known. His labors in Alexandria must have produced in his mind a thirst for more accurate knowledge respecting the geography of Palestine, and have prepared him to seize with avidity upon every circumstance which could be made to illustrate the Sacred Volume. When, at length, Demetrius heard of his public labors in Jerusalem and Cæsarea, he is said to have written to the bishops a severe remonstrance, and to have recalled Origen to his native city. Alexander and Theoctistus forwarded a reply to this letter of Demetrius, in justification of their conduct and in defence of Origen. They affirmed that laymen were often exhorted by the bishops of Palestine to address the brethren.

On his return to Egypt Origen resumed his duties as a teacher. But these did not wholly occupy his attention. Urged on by Ambrose, who aided him in every possible way, he began the Hexapla. Epiphanius informs us that this was the work which Ambrose first moved him to undertake. Origen shrank from the task, not as too laborious, but as too sacred. Yet the importunities of his friend prevailed. Ambrose spared no expense in procuring manuscripts. He furnished Origen with seven amanuenses, who wrote in turn by his dictation. He provided also many transcribers, that copies might be multiplied for circulation. It is said that girls who wrote a very beautiful hand were employed. But the Hexapla was not a work to be soon completed. Epiphanius

mentions that it occupied a portion of Origen's time for twenty-eight years, and was ultimately finished in Tyre not long before his death.

Thus busy and useful, Origen passed more than six years after his return from Palestine. In A. D. 222, *Alexander Severus* ascended the imperial throne, and proved to be a just and clement sovereign. To his mother *Mamaca* he was indebted in a great measure for those principles of equity and virtue which characterized his reign. She was a native of Emesa, in Syria; and must have been from early life acquainted with our holy religion. Like many noble women in the first ages of Christianity, she approved the truth, and befriended its humble advocates. Leaving Rome in 223, *Alexander Severus* appears to have accompanied his mother to Antioch of Syria. From this city, where the believers were first called Christians, where Paul, and Barnabas, and Ignatius had preached the glad tidings of peace, Mamaca sent a company of soldiers to escort Origen to her presence; for the fame of his learning and wisdom had reached her ears, and she was anxious to hear the gospel from his lips. He remained a considerable time at the imperial court, boldly announcing the truth, and affirming the divine power of Christianity. Eusebius declares that he "exhibited innumerable matters calculated to promote the glory of the Lord." He then hastened back to Egypt and resumed his customary employments.

We have already noticed his incipient labors upon the Hexapla. This important work was now prosecuted. But another of equal value, namely, his Commentary upon the Gospel of John, was first given to the public. This was doubtless the earliest commentary, in the modern sense, which was ever written upon any portion of the Bible. Consisting of more than thirty-two books, only about nine of which have reached our time, it was the fruit of learning, piety, and imagination; a treasure of rich thoughts and just explanations, to which subsequent commentators have been greatly indebted. Much of chaff was naturally mingled with the wheat, but the latter was abundant and predominant. The plan of Origen's work was good. Verbal criticism, a careful examination of

the train of thought, and a constant regard to the principles elsewhere taught in the Record, were to be faithfully combined: and we can but lament the loss of so large a part of this primitive Exposition. It was written and published in single books. The first five of these were composed at Alexandria in the period before us. Origen was now in the midst of his days. He was at least thirty-seven years of age when he returned from his visit to Antioch, and began to compose his interpretation of the fourth gospel. Not in boyhood, not prematurely and rashly, not without long continued preparatory studies, did he undertake an Exposition of the inspired Word.

The activity of Origen was almost incredible. Stimulated by Ambrose, who manifested an "inexpressible zeal in the study of the sacred Scriptures," he wrote eight books of his Commentary on Genesis, and his Exposition of the first twenty-five Psalms. He also gave to the public an interpretation of Lamentations and the Song of Solomon. In the meantime he attempted a systematic representation of doctrines. He wrote a short treatise upon the Resurrection. And he prepared a work upon the fundamental truths of religion, attempting to exhibit in a scientific form the principal articles of Christian faith. In this work, entitled *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, he professes to regard Christ as *The Truth*, and Divine revelation as the highest source of knowledge. "Omnes qui credunt—scientiam, quæ provocat homines ad bene beateque vivendum, non aliunde, quam *ab ipsis verbis Christi doctrinaque* suscipiunt." And yet he has given free scope to imagination in this treatise, and has maintained several opinions quite unknown to the word of God, and irreconcilable with it. The method of discussion is generally this. Origen first states very briefly the dogma to be explained and vindicated; then the rational arguments in its favor, with a reply to objections; and lastly, proofs from Scripture are adduced. The following analysis is a condensation of that given by Redepenning in his *Life of Origen*.

In the *first book* it is shown conclusively, that God is a Spirit perfectly incorporeal. After establishing this point, the Word or Logos is set forth as the Revealer of the Absolute

Spirit, the Image of His goodness, the Brightness of His glory, the Truth and the Life, eternally in God, yet a self-subsistent life, begotten by the will of the Father and inferior to Him. The Holy Spirit is now described as the Sanctifier, and is made subordinate to the Father and the Son. Origen then proceeds to teach the original *likeness* of all created beings, and to assert that their moral conduct is the sole cause of their present gradations of excellence. At some period in the remote future, they will again, with equal glory, surround the throne of the Invisible, until some new sin effect new changes. He believed that by this view alone was it possible to reconcile the actual state of mankind with perfect righteousness on the part of God. Dr. Julius Müller and Dr. Edward Beecher have adopted the same opinion, with unimportant modifications. Origen supposed that only one created spirit had persevered in its primeval innocence, and with that soul was the eternal Logos united in the person of Jesus Christ.

The *second book* treats of the world and of mankind as they now exist—of the incarnation and its results, and of the last things. The whole creation is finite; the number of beings is limited; for even an infinite God could not embrace an infinite world. The God of the Old Testament is shown to be the Father of Jesus Christ; and the latter is proved to have possessed a complete human nature, body and soul. Then follows a section on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the work which He performs in the hearts of men. In conclusion, Origen gives his views of the resurrection, of future punishment, and of eternal life.

The *third book* treats of the freedom of the will. He avers that in every moment of time, man is absolutely free to choose between good and evil. Instead of hereditary sin, he teaches that each individual is laden with guilt incurred before entering this world, and that the amount of such guilt regulates the bodily and spiritual gifts conferred upon men. All may struggle upward and at length recover the good they have forfeited. There is no strictly penal suffering; it is all disciplinary, and reformatory. Satan himself may return to his allegiance in the "restitution of all things."

But that restitution may not be final. Equipose and freedom of will may lead to apostacy *ad infinitum*.

In the *fourth book*, Origen gives his theory in regard to the interpretation of Scripture. Then follows a recapitulation of the principal ideas of his treatise, when he thus concludes: "All true knowledge is an immense spiritual vision; it rests upon that susceptibility for divine truth which the Scriptures call a godly mind. That which takes place deep within our souls is also known to the Divine Being. This writing is but a rule and guide to the doctrine of perfect wisdom."

Such is a brief outline of Origen's Treatise *περὶ ἀρχῶν*; a treatise which contains many bold and perilous speculations, which dares a solution of the deepest and darkest problems of the universe, which contains all the leading thoughts of spiritual rationalism in modern times; and which Origen, with his profound reverence for the word of God, was able to write only because his principles of interpretation were utterly wrong.

In the year A. D. 228, when Origen was forty-three years old, he was invited to make a journey into Greece. The churches of that region were rent by internal factions, and unable to withstand the inroads of heresy. Furnished with a letter of commendation by Demetrius, he took his way through Palestine to Achaia. At Cæsarea he was ordained a *presbyter* by Theoctistus, Alexander, and other bishops of this province. The reasons which moved Origen and his friends to this step are unknown. Perhaps he was importunate to teach in the church, and was unwilling again to deviate from the Alexandrian usage and thus offend his bishop. Perhaps he was led to accept of ordination in view of his expected labors in Greece. At all events the consecration took place, and the teacher continued his journey into Greece. A discussion was held in Athens, which excited great attention. The written account of it was soon greatly falsified; but it is understood that Origen did not speak without effect. He may also have availed himself of this opportunity to become acquainted with the philosophical schools of Athens. He appears to have returned by Ephesus and Antioch to Alexandria, in the year A. D. 230.

Hitherto Demetrius had treated Origen with tolerable fairness. But decided enmity was now exhibited. *Rufinus* says, that the bishop and his friends "could no longer endure the fame of his eloquence and learning, for so long as he taught, all in comparison with him appeared dumb." Demetrius may have felt himself personally slighted by the course of Origen, and have thought his episcopal authority in danger. Accusations were now heaped upon the new presbyter and successful teacher, which he compares to a raging storm. Unable or unwilling to bear the violence of his foes, he left Alexandria never to return. Demetrius called together an Egyptian synod in 231, to sit in judgment upon the exile. He was pronounced unworthy of the catechetical office, and excluded from the Alexandrian church. Many presbyters were included in this synod. But Demetrius was not content. A portion of the bishops, but none of the presbyters, were called together again; and by this picked council Origen was deposed from the office of presbyter. All the churches of the Roman Empire, except those of Palestine and Phœnoœia, Arabia, and Greece, approved the sentence.

Palestine now became the second home of Origen. His immediate residence was Cæsarea. From this place he soon wrote a letter to his friends in Egypt vindicating himself, and asserting that some of his writings had been falsified. In particular he denies ever having taught the future salvation of the devil. In his new sphere of activity Origen soon resumed his Commentary on John, and delivered lectures as before. Theoctistus and Alexander were often his hearers. Their churches were always open to him as a preacher. A theological school flourished in the city similar to that in Alexandria, but confined to the pursuit of Christian knowledge. Springing into life under the care of so renowned a scholar and so powerful a man, this school gave an impulse to biblical study in the Holy Land, and drew a multitude of eager students to Cæsarea. And though its glory passed away with Origen, yet we are indebted to its influence for a series of learned pastors in that city; for Pamphilus, for Eusebius, the father of ecclesiastical history, and for several others. *Gregory Thaumaturgas* was perhaps the most eminent

pupil of Origen at Cæsarea. He had come from Pontus to attend a famous law school in the neighboring Berytus. While passing a few days with a sister resident in Cæsarea, Gregory met with Origen, and listened to a series of addresses delivered by him upon the true philosophy and the variety of every worldly good. Charmed by the truth, and by the peace, enthusiasm, power, and clearness of mind which were revealed by the speaker, Gregory decided, after some hesitation, to relinquish his plan of life, his fatherland and his relations, for the further study of divine things and the work of the ministry. His brother, *Athenodorus*, took the same course. They were bound to Origen, not merely by admiration for his ability and knowledge, but also by strong attachment to his person. The relation was one of ardent friendship. The early austerities of their teacher had not extinguished his warmth of heart. He had the enviable power of winning the love and confidence of the young men who listened to his instructions. When Gregory, a few years after, left Cæsarea, he uttered beautiful words of gratitude in a parting address to Origen.

But we must turn our eyes from this picture of Christian friendship and peaceful study to witness the ravages of another storm. The enmity of paganism had been restrained, but not conquered, by the just administration of Alexander Severus. In A. D. 235, by the murder of his predecessor, *Maximin*, the *Thracian*, ascended the throne, and turned his wild rage against the overseers of the churches. As he could not escape in Cæsarea, Origen took refuge in Cappadocia, with *Firmilian*, a bishop who had invited him thither. Yet there was peril even here. "*Serenianus tunc fuit in nostra provincia præses, acerbus et dirus persecutor.*" (In Cyp. c. 9.) Origen was forced to conceal himself in the house of a Christian virgin, *Juliana*, where he was hidden from the world two years. So, at a later period, and to foil the vengeance of other enemies, *Luther*, was shut up for a time in the castle of Wartburg. Juliana had inherited the library of *Symmachus*, known by his translation of the Old Testament, and his Ebionite commentaries on the word of God. In this library

the concealed refugee found much to occupy his leisure and aid his labors on the Hexapla.

But the violence which Origen escaped fell upon his faithful friend *Ambrose*, and upon *Proctetus*, a presbyter of Cæsarea. Both were dear to him; both were thrust into prison. It was thought they would be summoned before the Emperor in Germany and there suffer death. To encourage them Origen composed his work on *Martyrdom*, an exhortation to steadfastness. This work illustrates the excellences and defects of Origen's theology. It shows his great and unwavering confidence in the word of God, his lofty standard of Christian virtue, his faith in the atonement of Christ, his spiritual and heavenward temper of mind. But it exhibits also his belief of the pre-existence and apostacy of human souls, in the justifying merit of patient suffering and death on the part of Christians, and in the unreal and transitory nature of matter. He looked with contempt upon the body. He supposed the whole material universe created for the reception and discipline of fallen spirits, and destined to annihilation after their recovery. Hence should they fall again from purity, another universe must be created again for their abode.

About this time he wrote for *Ambrose* a treatise upon prayer. He defined this act of worship to be a turning of the spirit to God, an elevation of the soul above the body, above the visible earth and heaven, and a union of it with the Spirit poured out through the whole world, with God who filleth all things. It is a high prerogative of creatures endowed with reason. The universe of spirits is a great praying church. Christ, the High Priest of heaven, prays with us continually. The Holy Ghost prays, and is the spirit of prayer in us. All good angels pray. Sun and moon praise the Lord: so do all the stars of light. And prayer is heard and answered, notwithstanding the eternal, immutable, and unerring fore-knowledge of God.

The second part of this treatise is an interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. Origen calls the one recorded by Matthew the model of all prayers. He distinguishes it from that pre-

served in Luke, affirming the evangelists to be accurate and reliable historians, unable to differ in relating the same thing.

Our Father, the Lord began: in the Old Testament no worshipper addresses God as Father. Christ procured the adoption for us. May every one be actually a child of God, in order to call Him Father in truth! The brightest dignity of Christians, their being born from the seed of God, is shown in good actions, and their whole life is but a perpetual cry to God: "Father in heaven,"—where our citizenship is. The heavens contain him not; no bodily form includes Him; He is not in space; everything corporeal is also perishable, divisible. But corporeal objects bear the marks of his power and glory; they are, so to speak, the emanations of His God-head.

Hallowed be thy name. A name expresses the peculiarity of any being, that by which it is distinguished from every other. Names have a mysterious harmony with the nature of those who bear them; hence saints of the old or new covenant, as Abraham and Paul, on experiencing great inner transformations, changed their names. God is eternal, immutable, *He is*; but there are very few who in the least degree perceive his holiness in all things. Let us pray to Him now, that the conceptions of Him, formed by each one of us, may be holy; that this pure Being may appear in His creation, and in His providence, in His electing and condemning, permitting and restraining, punishing and rewarding. Only by holiness united with concord and unanimity do we come, by recollection, to a true and high knowledge of God's nature; possessing a spark of his divinity, which is reanimated in us. For the Scripture says: *Let us exalt the name of God upon itself—ἐπιταυτό*—and this takes place, when the divine within us rises up to praise the power of God, which it shares. His name should sanctify us.

Thy kingdom come. It comes not outwardly; it is within us; it is but the holy ruling of God in our hearts, the establishment of His authority in the spirit, the exaltation of that which is highest in us above our lower nature, the orderly succession of wise thoughts. The words of salvation

which we preach, and the works of righteousness which they perform, are the kingdom of Christ: for He is the Word and the Righteousness.

The "essential"* bread of this prayer cannot mean bodily food; it signifies nutriment suited to our true nature, to the incorporeal in us; that imperishable food which remains unto eternal life, which the Son of Man gives unto us; it signifies faith in Him, nay Himself, the bread from heaven. Hence the evangelists here choose a word wholly foreign to the Greek, which they have formed in imitation of an Old Testament expression. (Ex. xix. 5.)

Forgive us our debts. We are upon the world's stage, in sight of men and angels. We owe much to ourselves and to men, and much is unpaid. We are also debtors to Christ, who has purchased us with His own blood. We are also bound not to grieve that Holy Spirit. Moreover, we are every moment under obligations to the angels who protect us, to the church, to our office, calling, and rank. No one is entirely free from guilt, even if he has to lament former neglects and transgressions only; and the "handwriting against us" is inscribed in our own spirit. By an earnest endeavor no longer to remain guilty, we may destroy that debt. We also have many debtors, and have power to forgive them, mindful of our own guilt. Moreover men, to whom Christ has given authority, mediate for others the forgiveness of sins, which God alone can grant. Only mortal sins, idolatry, adultery, and fornication, cannot be forgiven.

And lead us not into temptation. We here pray not to be overcome, either in human temptations, which the warfare of the flesh, or of our own heart against the Spirit prepares, or in conflicts with "principalities" and evil spirits, which cannot always be shunned. The wicked one, from whom may God deliver us! is the devil. May his darts be quenched on the shield of faith, and the fountains of living water in us destroy the flame of every temptation.

The murder of Maximin by his troops in A.D. 238, restored peace to the church. Fabian was now bishop at

* ἐπιούσιον—Jerome, "supersubstantialem."

Rome, Babylas at Antioch, and Heraclas at Alexandria. Dionysius, who had studied under Origen, was over the catechetical school. Origen returned to Cæsarea, and at once resumed his exegetical labors. He wrote his Commentary on Isaiah, of which Eusebius had thirty books, though only fragments have come down to us. He also began an Exposition of Ezekiel, a single fragment of which now exists. Ere long he went to Athens, and, on his way, it seems, visited Nicomedia and his old friend Ambrose, who had been released from prison and was residing in that country. During this journey, Origen had a discussion with a certain *Bassus*, perhaps a Valentinian, and appealed to the Apocryphal story of Susannah. *Julius Africanus* was present at this debate. He was a native of Libya, but was residing at Nicopolis or Emmaus. He ascertained afterwards, that the section quoted was wholly wanting in the Hebrew text, and exhibited, moreover, clear marks of spuriousness. In a letter to Origen, he freely disclosed his doubts respecting the passage. He received an answer from Nicomedia. In it Origen strove to remove his objections and doubts. He says the Jewish elders removed the narrative from their text, because it endangered the honor of their order, and believes all peculiarities of style and play upon words may be explained. Ambrose assisted him in framing this reply. To this time we may, perhaps, assign a letter of Origen, to his former pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgas, exhorting him to renounce all ambition for distinction as a lawyer or philosopher, and give himself wholly to the defence of Christian truth. From Nicomedia Origen proceeded to Athens, and remained in that city a considerable period. Here he finished his Exposition of Ezekiel, and began a Commentary on the Song of Songs. This Song he treated as an allegory, Christ being represented by the royal bridegroom, and His Church, or a single soul, being veiled under the bride, Salumith.

It would detain us too long to speak of all the commentaries which he prepared about this time. Most of them have perished, or come down to us in Latin translations by Jerome and Rufinus. It is to be lamented that both these scholars ventured to suppress many expressions which they disliked,

and sometimes to substitute or add explanations of their own.

From Athens Origen returned to Cæsarea. His friend *Firmilian*, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, paid him a long visit. It is supposed that Firmilian was on his way to a synod in Bostra, on the confines of Palestine. The doctrines of Beryllus, of Bostra, occasioned this synod; and the movement extended over Arabia. Beryllus denied the personality of Christ before the incarnation. God the Father, he taught, took up his abode in a complete man, the Son.* Of course this was an unequivocal denial of any Trinity in the Godhead. The doctrine met with strong opposition. The synod of Bostra decided against Beryllus, but could not win him to adopt their views. Origen was therefore invited to come and reason with the heretic. He complied; and after a private and familiar interview, in which he ascertained the exact state of his opponent's mind, they joined in debate before the bishops. The result was remarkable; for Beryllus was convinced of his error, and made an immediate recantation. Afterwards he signified his thanks to Origen in a letter. This occurred in the year 244.

Soon after this, Origen is said to have been called into Arabia to contend against another error. The resurrection of the body was denied; and in a large synod he took up the subject and refuted the arguments brought in favor of such a denial. It is not easy to see how Origen could say much in defence of a proper resurrection, without coming in conflict with his ideas respecting matter. By laying special emphasis upon the spirituality of the reanimated body, he probably succeeded, however, in keeping his system together. He declares that our future bodies will be all eye, all ear, all action, all motion.

In A.D. 244, *Philip the Arabian* ascended the imperial throne. Through the five years of his reign Christians were suffered to live in peace. And during this period Origen wrote his work against Celsus, a production of great merit, and now extant in the Greek original. Celsus, it is believed,

* See Neander, I. 593, for another view.

published his *Λόγος ἀληθείας* in the reign of Marcus Aurelius; and now for sixty years it had been in high repute among the pagans. He was an eclectic philosopher of the Platonic school, learned, acute, bitter. His work has not been preserved in a separate form. But Origen, in his reply to that work, follows Celsus step by step, quoting his language, it would seem, with entire accuracy, demolishing, with great learning and ability, his sceptical objections to Christianity, and refuting his abominable charges against this new religion. The limits appropriate to such an article as the present prevent our giving a more particular account, or an abstract, of this Apology. It is not, perhaps, inferior to any treatise of the kind produced in the early ages of Christianity.

Apart from this treatise, Origen now toiled incessantly upon the Hexapla, and upon commentaries. His vigor scarcely abated with advancing age. The Hexapla contained mostly six, but in part seven, eight, or nine copies of the Old Testament in parallel columns. In the first column was the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; in the second, this text in Greek letters; in the third, the version of Aquila; in the fourth, that of Symmachus; in the fifth, that of the Seventy; in the sixth, that of Theodotion; in the seventh, eighth, and ninth, three versions known from their position as the *Quinta*, *Sexta*, et *Septima Editiones*. This great work perished after a time; we know it only by description, and by considerable fragments preserved in the writings of Jerome and others.

Origen also executed a similar work, the Tetrapla, containing the versions of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

But his end was approaching. In A.D. 249 *Decius* succeeded *Philip*, and entered upon a most systematic and relentless persecution of Christians. It was his design to extinguish the name and faith. Fabian at Rome, Alexander at Jerusalem, and Babylas at Antioch, died in honor of the truth. Origen seems to have gone to Tyre before the outbreak. He was seized, thrust into prison, and a heavy iron collar put about his neck. He was tortured many days. He was

threatened with death at the stake. But his steadfastness continued. And as his judge did not wish to take his life, he survived the torture and the persecution. But not long; for his sufferings had ruined his health. In A.D. 254, and in the seventieth year of his age, he fell asleep. The work of life was done.

Besides a great number of letters and homilies, he had written commentaries on a large part of the Bible, had formed the Hexapla and Tetrapla, composed an able Apology and several doctrinal treatises, taught Christianity to a great number of young men, and travelled extensively. He was in labors abundant. And we must admire and love the man, while we reject many of his opinions. We know nothing of his personal appearance, except that he was small of stature, and of winning address. Intelligence and love beamed from his countenance.

ART. VI.—THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

History of the Council of Trent, from the French of L. F. BUNGENER. Edited from the second London Edition, with a Summary of the Acts of the Council, by JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.

A Text-Book of Popery, comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, and a Complete View of Roman Catholic Theology. By J. M. CRAMP, D.D. Third Edition. London: Houlston & Stoneman, Paternoster Row. 1851.

THERE is no higher authority with Roman Catholics, in matters of doctrine and discipline, than the decisions of a general council, solemnly ratified and confirmed by the sovereign pontiff. Such pontifical sanction is not by all Romanists regarded as essential to the validity of the acts of a general council; but where such decrees are so ratified, no Catholic will deny that they constitute the highest possible source of appeal, and the ultimate authority for faith and practice.

The Romish church generally acknowledges eighteen such general councils, though there is some diversity between the Cisalpine and the Transalpine writers, in their enumeration. Of these eighteen, that of Trent is the last, and in its origin, history, and results, by far the most remarkable of them all. Three centuries have now nearly elapsed since the Trentine fathers—amidst acclamations of *anathema cunctis hæreticis*—dispersed from the closing session of this memorable council. From that time till the present, its doctrinal decrees have ever been regarded as the acknowledged and authoritative standard of the doctrines of Rome. Whatever is found in these decrees may fairly and legitimately be regarded as a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the validity of which no faithful son of the church will presume to deny or to dispute. The creed to which every Romish bishop and priest has solemnly expressed his adherence, and which every genuine Catholic cordially receives, is the creed of Pope Pius IV., the pontiff by whom all the acts and decrees of the council were solemnly ratified and confirmed. This is the present creed of the Romish church. In thirteen articles it embraces a summary of the doctrines established by the decrees of Trent, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth articles the believer is made to say—"I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and likewise, I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church. This true Catholic faith, *out of which no one can be saved*,* which I now freely profess and truly hold, I promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to hold and profess the same, whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life."

Dr. McClintock† has truly remarked: "The acknowledged creed of Rome is contained in the acts and decrees of the Council of Trent—there and nowhere else. Quote the most

* "Extra quam, nemo salvus esse potest."

† The editor of the American edition of Bungener's History of the Council. See the Introduction which he has prefixed to that work.

celebrated Roman doctors—an angelical Aquinas, or a sainted Liguori—and you will be told that their writings are “not authoritative.” Cite a catechism, a prayer-book, a breviary—your mouth is closed, at once, with the declaration that the church recognizes none of these as giving her creed. Pursue your quest as far as you may, you will find no book, no formulary, no summary of doctrine, recognized as binding, except the canons and decrees of Trent. The canons of Trent are the very citadel of Rome.”

From the above observations, it will be seen that a knowledge of the history and the decrees of the Council of Trent is absolutely essential to a correct understanding of the doctrines of the Romish church. Mr. Butler, the celebrated Romish controversialist, in his *Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, demands that “in every religious controversy between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the following rule should be rigidly observed, viz., “That no doctrine should be ascribed to the Roman Catholics as a body except such as is an article of their faith.” If this rule is a just one—and we have no disposition to repudiate it—then, we ask, how can any one be qualified to engage in this great controversy, or even to judge of its merits, who has not made himself familiar with the accredited decrees and formularies in which those articles of faith are embodied?

A diligent perusal and careful study of such works, as those whose titles we have prefixed to this article, will do much towards imparting that knowledge which is necessary to a correct understanding of the matters in dispute between Romanists and Protestants. If we would be armed for the present and the coming conflict between Romish error and Bible truth, we must adopt the advice of one of England's brightest lights,* in a recent sermon—“Study popery anew. The remedy I would propose against the threatened influx of of papal power, is to study afresh the tenets of the papacy, to understand its errors, to chronicle its crimes, to mark well that its character is as immutable as its pretensions are arrogant; and that everywhere and always, it has proved itself

* Rev. Thomas Binney, D.D., Pastor of the Weigh-house Chapel, London.

to be a thing which at once insults God and degrades man."

The *History of the Council of Trent* by Bungener is a work of recent origin. Its author, an accomplished clergyman of the Reformed Church of France, has recently placed himself in the front rank of the Protestant writers of Europe, by his graphic and eloquent *historico-dramatic* works (if the word may be pardoned) entitled—*The Priest and the Huguenot*—*The Preacher and the King*, &c. The present work will not detract from his well-earned honors. It is a well-conceived and well-executed attempt to popularize a knowledge of the historical intricacies which originated and influenced the Council of Trent from its inception, through all its various sessions and recesses, from its inauguration in 1545 to its final dispersion, eighteen years afterwards, in 1563. In this the author has succeeded in an admirable degree. The book is written in a graphic and animated style, and is well adapted to convey to readers of every class, a general impression of the history of the council and the doctrines which it promulgated. Yet it is not a work adequately adapted to meet the wants of the quiet student of history and theology. It would be but poorly adapted as an armory for the Protestant controversialist, or a text-book for the college or the theological seminary. Probably it was never intended for such a purpose. Its statements of the doctrinal decisions of the council are not sufficiently clear and precise, and they are very seldom given in the language of the doctrinal decrees. This, to the careful student, is a serious defect, as he cannot learn from Bungener's book *precisely* what Rome teaches on the points discussed.* The work seems to be written, rather for the meridian of Papal France, than Protestant England or America, and the author seems to assume that the doctrinal teachings of Trent are generally known. Yet the theological discussions of the council are related in a lively style, accompanied generally with pregnant reflections,

* This deficiency, Dr. McClintock, whose editorial labors have much enhanced the value of the American edition, has, in part, but only in part, supplied, by abridging from Landon's *Manual of Councils* a brief account of the sessions of the Council of Trent in chronological order.

and sometimes with powerful arguments against the dogmas of Rome. The defects which are found in Bungener are admirably supplied by the work of Dr. Cramp (the second of the works placed at the head of this article), formerly a useful and influential Baptist pastor in England, now a Professor in Acadia College, Nova Scotia. The *Text Book of Popery*, besides an interesting narrative of the historical circumstances connected with the origin, progress, and termination of the council, contains all the doctrinal decrees both in English and in the original Latin. Dr. McClintock has given a brief account, in his Introduction to Bungener, of the principal works that have been written on the council. We have been surprised, however, to find that he has not even mentioned the valuable work of Dr. Cramp, especially as it has been before the public for some twenty-five years, and was republished in America by Daniel Appleton, shortly after the appearance of the first edition in London. In many respects, we regard it as more valuable to the student than that of Bungener; and were we asked to name one of these works, as a sole guide to the doings and the doctrines of the Council of Trent, we should most unhesitatingly give it the preference. Both, however, may be read very profitably in connection, and much more benefit may be derived by the student, by so reading them—period by period—than by the study of either work by itself. The work of Dr. Cramp is still often sought after in America, though it has been long out of print. We should be glad to see a republication, on this side of the Atlantic, of the last much improved and enlarged London edition.

The principal authorities from which both Bungener and Cramp derive their facts, are the voluminous works of Father Paul Sarpi, Cardinal Pallavicini, and Le Plat; though we perceive that Bungener, in addition to these three original works, makes considerable use of the brief and compendious history of the council, written in French, by Peter Jurieu.

Instead, however, of entering into a minute criticism of the excellences or defects of these two modern histories of the Council of Trent, we shall content ourselves with cordially commending them both to the attention and study of the

reader, and occupy the remainder of this article in a brief historical review of the council itself, and in offering, *en passant*, such reflections as that review, to our own mind, has suggested.

For more than a quarter of a century prior to the opening of the council in 1545, the subject of summoning a general council had agitated the mind of Christendom. As long before as the 28th of November, 1518, Luther, while yet in communion with the church of Rome, had solemnly appealed from the decision of the Pope to a general council. It was a month after his appearance, at Augsburg, before the papal legate, Cardinal Cajetan, and in the following bold and decisive language—"Seeing that the Pope, who is God's vicar upon earth, may, like any other man, fall into error, commit sin, and utter falsehoods, and that the appeal to a general council is the only safeguard against acts of injustice which it is impossible to resist; on these grounds, I find myself obliged to have recourse to such an appeal."

This appeal of the courageous Reformer was, at the time it was made, regarded by Frederick of Saxony and the other German princes, as a bold, if not a rash proceeding. It was striking a blow at the supreme and cherished prerogative of the Pope; and a former pontiff, Pius II., had pronounced the greater excommunication against any man, however exalted—though he might be the Emperor himself—who should be guilty of such daring contempt of the infallible papal authority. Two years later, Luther was bolder still; and ere long, the German princes were as loud as he in their demands for a general council. In 1518, Luther had acknowledged the Pope, as "God's vicar upon earth." In 1520, when he renewed his appeal, in response to Leo's bull of excommunication, he used far different language—"Forasmuch," says he, "as a general council of the Christian church is superior to the Pope, especially in matters of faith; forasmuch as the authority of the Pope is not superior, but inferior to Scripture, and he has no right to slay Christ's sheep, or cast them into the jaws of the wolf; I Martin Luther, an Augustine, and doctor of the Holy Scriptures, at Wittemberg, in my own behalf, and on behalf of such as stand or shall stand

on my side, do, by this instrument, appeal from his holiness, Pope Leo, to a general Christian council, hereafter to be held. I appeal," he also adds, "from the aforesaid Pope Leo; *first*, as an unjust, hasty, and oppressive judge, who condemns me without having given me a hearing, and without declaring the grounds of his judgment;—*secondly*, as a heretic and apostate, misguided, hardened, and condemned by Holy Writ, who requires me to deny the necessity of Christian faith in the sacraments;—*thirdly*, as an enemy, an antichrist, an adversary of the Scriptures, and a usurper of their authority, who presumes to set up his own decrees against all the declarations of the word of God;—*fourthly*, as a contemner, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the holy Christian church, and of every free council, who asserts that a council is nothing in itself."

At the close of this appeal, which was dated November 17th, 1520, Luther proceeds "most humbly to beseech the most serene, illustrious, excellent, wise, and worthy lords, Charles the Roman Emperor, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, cities, and municipalities of the whole German nation" to adhere to this his protest, and to unite with him "to resist the antichristian proceedings of the Pope."

There was nothing the Popes hated and dreaded more than a general council. The calling of such a body was the recognition of a rival power, equal, and in the judgment of many, superior to the pontifical throne. Leo knew too well the existence of flagrant abuses in papal discipline, and flagrant irregularities and crimes in the papal hierarchy—from the Pope himself down through cardinals and bishops to the lowest priest or monk—which such a council, if once assembled, might undertake to reform. He, doubtless, thought of the Council of Constance, which deposed Pope John XXIII., and however glad he might have been to see Martin Luther share the fate of John Huss, yet the burning of a single heretic would have been a poor consolation for the possible loss of his throne, or even for the exposure of the corruption, rapacity, and lust of himself and his clergy, and the reform of their most *profitable* abuses. We need not won-

der, therefore, that Leo and his successors exerted their utmost energies to defeat the plan of a general council, or, at least, to put off the evil day as far as possible.

Whether these were the motives or not which led Leo to treat this appeal of Luther with neglect and contempt, certain it is that he and his successors, Adrian VI., Clement VII., and Paul III., were successful in putting off, under various pretexts, the assembling of a council for a quarter of a century from the date of this appeal, viz: from the year 1520 to the year 1545.

And in all this, who can fail to discover the overruling hand of HIM who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working?" Had the demand been at once regarded, and a general council assembled in the infancy of the Reformation, while its friends were few, its principles had made but little progress, and even its patrons among the German princes were but timid and wavering adherents—in all probability, the work would have been nipped in the bud, its few friends overawed by the decisions of so just an assembly, Luther burned at the stake, and the Reformation have been at an end.

God designed that the Reformation should live. It was a tree of his own planting; its branches were to spread over other lands, and its fruit was to bless the nations. Luther, who was God's instrument in planting this tree, and his faithful fellow-laborers who should gather around him, must dig about it and cultivate it; that in the lapse of a quarter of a century, it might so strike its roots, and extend its growth, as to defy the power of any papal council to root it up, or to cut it down. Whatever were man's reasons, these seem to us to have been God's reasons, why all appeals of reformers, backed soon afterwards by the demands of Emperor and princes, for a general council, were for so long a time ineffectual. Before the assembling of the Council of Trent, the tree had attained a growth, and acquired a strength, which might defy the power of earth and hell to root it up. Whatever might have been the consequences had a council been summoned within a year or two of Luther's appeal, the Council of Trent came too late to destroy or even to retard the Reformation.

"That council," says Bungener (p. 19), "which Luther had called for in 1517, and which he might have dreaded in 1520—in 1545, even before it had opened, had altogether ceased, before he descended to the grave, to give any serious ground of alarm to the Reformation. It had lost its charm before it met. Twenty-five years of delays had proved superabundantly—to some that Rome did not wish for a council, never had seriously wished for it, and could not have any wish for it,—to others, that the princes who had most called for it really cared very little about it;—to the Protestants, that no concession whatever would be made to them;—to the Roman Catholics, that small abuses would be amended, and the great ones preserved;—to all, in fine, that it would not be the church's council, but the Pope's council."

And so it was the Pope's council; for it was presided over by his legates, the Cardinals De Monte, Santa Croce, and Pole, and others in later sessions—it was controlled by his creatures, the Italian bishops, of whom he always contrived to have a majority. There was a constant communication between the Pope at Rome and his obedient vassals at Trent,—and no decree passed, or was even submitted to the council, without his approval. Such an assembly could not, therefore, be regarded as free; nor is it surprising that to all the entreaties of the Emperor, and all the overtures of the Pope to the Protestants, that they would submit the matters in dispute to the council, they should constantly reply that they could take no part in a council presided over by the Pope, in the person of his legates, nor would they for an instant acknowledge the authority of such a body. We are aware, indeed, that this all-controlling influence of the Pope in the doings of the council has been disputed by some Romish writers,* but no one can read its history by Father Paul, or even by the ultra papist Pallavicini, without abundant evidence of the fact. Proofs will multiply as we proceed to give an outline of the sessions and decrees of the council.

* See *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, with Preliminary Essays upon the History of the Council*, by Rev. J. Waterworth. Also a Review of this work, in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, for April, 1849.

The first session was held December 13th, 1545. The long period of eighteen years elapsed between its opening and its closing session, December 4th, 1563; yet of these years, only a little over four were occupied in the deliberations and acts of the Council at Trent.

Its sessions may be divided into three periods. The *first*, from its opening till March 11th, 1547, a period of one year and three months; when, upon a report of a malignant fever or plague, generally considered groundless, but upon which the historians differ, the council was adjourned to meet at Bologna, in the Pope's dominions. Only a majority agreed to this adjournment, and they chiefly the Italian bishops, the blinded tools of the Pope. The dissenting minority remained still at Trent. After a few feeble attempts to renew the business of the council at Bologna, the Italian bishops were dismissed by the Pope to their homes, and the council indefinitely suspended.

The *second* period was about one year, viz., from May 1st, 1551, when the eleventh session was held at Trent, till April 28th, 1552, the date of its second adjournment, on account of a panic produced by the victories of Duke Maurice, of Saxony, over the Emperor Charles V. Fearful that the victorious Saxon prince would extend his conquests to Trent, they hastily adjourned for a period of *two* years, which delay was destined, from a variety of causes, to be protracted to *ten* years before they should meet again.

The *third* period, which was the longest of the three during which the council continued together, commenced January 18th, 1562, when the fathers assembled, after their long recess, and held the seventeenth session, and continued till December 13th, 1563, the day of its closing session and final adjournment.

The number of *sessions*, properly so called, was twenty-five, although at some of them very little business was done, except to meet and adjourn. These sessions were held for the authoritative enactment and promulgation of the decrees which had been previously debated at the general meetings of the council, called *congregations*, corresponding to what,

in modern parliamentary phrase, would be termed *committee of the whole*.

"The order of business in the council," as remarks Dr. McClintock, the editor of "Bungener," (p. 43,) "was fixed as follows: *First*, the subjects for discussion were arranged by *committees*,* composed of bishops and doctors; *second*, these subjects were then debated in meetings composed of all the members, called technically *congregations*, in which all decrees were to pass by a majority of votes; *third*, the resolutions thus adopted were to be published and confirmed in the *sessions*, which were to be held openly in the cathedral, with mass and preaching, and in which no discussions were to be allowed."

The first three sessions of the council were of comparatively little importance. At the first, an opening sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bitonto. This sermon is given in full by Le Plat (Vol. I. p. 12—22), and a considerable sketch of it is given in English by Dr. Cramp (p. 33). It affords a singular specimen of silly boasting, empty bombast, and childish absurdity. At the second session it was decided, in partial compliance with the demands of the Emperor for reform in the abuses of the church, that one subject of *discipline* and one of *doctrine* should be decided at each session of the council. At the third session, the fathers did little more than to repeat the Nicene creed, and some were heard, as they left the council, complaining to one another that the grand result of the negotiations of twenty years was that they had come together to repeat a creed twelve hundred years old!

The *fourth* session was held on the 8th of April, 1546, and was one of the most memorable, and perhaps the most important of the whole twenty-five. In it a decree was passed which declared the *Apocryphal Books* of equal authority with all the books of the Old and New Testament, and anathematized all who should not receive these books as sacred and canonical;—which established the old *Latin Vulgate* as the

* These committees were appointed by the Pope's legates, and the Italians were in the majority.

authentic standard of appeal;—forbade any *private interpretation* of Scripture “contrary to that which is held by holy mother church, or contrary to the unanimous interpretation of the fathers;”^{*}—destroyed the *liberty of the press*, by prohibiting all persons to print books relating to religion, or “even to retain in possession” such books, “unless they have been first examined and approved by the ordinary,” under penalty of anathema and pecuniary fine;—and which declared *tradition* equally a rule of faith with the Sacred Scriptures, to be received “with equal piety and veneration” (“*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ*”).

The decree of which the above is a very brief synopsis is peculiarly worthy of study at the present day, as affording an authentic exhibition of popery as it was at Trent two centuries ago, and as it still is in relation to the subjects which we have italicised in the last paragraph.

When we remember that one professed design of the council was to reclaim the Protestants, and bring them back as erring sons, into the bosom of the church, we cannot but wonder at the presumption which should enact decrees so utterly opposed to their cherished and dearest principles, as the supremacy of the word of God as the only rule of faith, the right of private judgment, and the liberty of the press; and the more astonishing does this infatuation seem, when we remember that all this was done by a little company of men, consisting, at this session, of just *fifty-eight persons in all*! For, although at the later sessions the number of delegates increased to over two hundred, at this the assembly consisted of only eight archbishops, forty-one bishops, three abbots, and six generals of orders.

Probably an event which had recently taken place—sad and mournful to the reformers, but welcome and joyful to their enemies—encouraged them in this unwonted daring.

^{*} The words of the decree, at this point, are, “*Contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unaninem consensum Patrum.*” If this latter rule were conscientiously observed, it would be very difficult to get any interpretation whatever of sacred Scripture; for on how few subjects do “the fathers” unanimously agree.

We allude to the death of Luther, the great apostle of the Reformation, which occurred at Eisleben, his native place, on the 18th of February, 1546, just seven weeks before this fourth session of the council.

The effect of this intelligence upon the council is graphically and eloquently described by Bungener (p. 61). The third session was over, when the fathers had met *to repeat the creed*, when one day—the 22d of February—

“The council met to deliberate in good earnest. The legates appeared radiant with smiles. Why so? Nobody could tell. Could it be, because the council was now about to put itself in motion, and because, after having held a session for the *Credo*, they would not be obliged to hold one for the *Pater*, as was remarked by some mischievous wits. This was doubted. The legates had not hitherto looked like men who were eager for the council proceeding to business. Could it be that the Emperor had at last consented to declare war against the Protestants? Possibly so; a courier had arrived from Germany that very morning. No. It was because of something else; something better still—*Luther was dead!*”

“Yes, the veteran father of the Reformation was dead—if the Reformation had any father but God—any mother but the Word of God. He was dead, but only after having viewed with a smile of pity the grand projects and the small intrigues of men, so infatuated as to think of arresting, by their decrees, the movements of human thought and the very breath of God. And see now, how glad they are, these very men! Even when feeble and dying, the old monk of Wittenberg still terrified them. One might have said, that they could never turn round to look at Germany without their eyes meeting his, and without quailing before that eagle glance which had once embraced all Europe from the top of the donjon towers of the Wartburg. At Trent, at Rome, at Vienna, wherever partisans and champions of the popedom were to be found, never could they meet by two or three, without a voice, at once serious and sarcastic, seeming to pierce the wall, to overawe thieves, and to silence them. Now, then, ye oracles of the council, you may proceed at your ease, Shut, shut the Bible! Luther no longer lives to open it. Poor insensate creatures! see you not that once opened, no human power shall shut it? ‘My good princes and lords,’ said Luther shortly before his death, ‘you are truly far too eager to see me die—me who am but a poor man. You fancy, then, that after that, you shall have got the victory!’ But no; they did not think so, for they proceeded to close their ranks, and to advance more vigorously than ever against the book which he had used as his own buckler, and that of his adherents.”

In the fifth, sixth, and seventh of the remaining sessions

which were held in this first period of the council, decrees were passed upon original sin, justification, and the sacraments, which were declared to be seven in number, viz.: baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony.

When the decree concerning original sin was under discussion, a fierce debate sprung up upon a subject which has of late occupied a considerable share of public attention—the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. A quarrel on this abstruse and useless question had existed in the Romish church for more than four centuries prior to the Council of Trent. The fierce and intemperate disputes between “the Cordeliers and the Jacobins,”—“the Dominicans and Franciscans,” had long divided the church into rival and contending parties. Even the Popes had declared themselves on opposite sides, but always as divines, never as Popes. The celebrated St. Bernard, in the middle of the twelfth century, had opposed it, and called the idea “a presumptuous novelty, the mother of temerity, the sister of superstition, the daughter of fickleness.” Johannes Scôtus, eighty years later, advocated the doctrine, but only as “a possibility,” and if admitted, to be held only as “a matter of sentiment.” He argued that

“Christ redeemed all mankind; nevertheless he could not have been a perfect Redeemer, had there not been one being, at least, whom he should save, not only from the *consequences* of original sin, but from original sin itself. And who could this being have been but his own mother? Admirable reasonings these,” says Bungener, “on which a man of science could not admit the existence of a single plant, of an insect, of an atom—yet with which people have so often been content in establishing the sublimest mysteries!”

With such a diversity of opinion, the fathers of Trent prudently resolved (in modern parlance) to *dodge* the question, and to leave it undecided whether the Virgin Mary, like all the rest of Adam's posterity—Christ only excepted—was herself born in original sin. Bungener, writing a few years prior to the recent papal decision, remarks, with singular sagacity and foresight (p. 125), “At the present day matters stand thus. There are no positive decrees; but every

bishop that asks leave to establish the worship of the Immaculate Conception in his diocese, has this granted to him by the Pope, and hence it has now become almost universal. Let but some years more elapse, and nothing will prevent the fact from taking its place definitely among the articles of the faith."

Pius IX., in the year 1854, fulfilled this shrewd conjecture, without a council, on his own individual authority—what the Popes of the Trentine age, three centuries earlier, dared not do, nor even the council itself. He established the Immaculate Conception as a recognized dogma of the church.

Dr. Cramp adds to his history of the doings of the council on this subject some interesting but melancholy facts, illustrative of the idolatrous reverence and worship paid by Romanists to the "Immaculate Virgin Mary." The following specimen is from a poem in honor of the Virgin, found in a little book, published by the Roman Catholic booksellers in London, entitled "The Little Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Latin and English, for the use of the Confraternity of the Scapulary, and other devout Christians." The extract is given here, because of the explanation which it furnishes of this doctrine—only an opinion when these lines were written—but now an established dogma of the Romish church :

"Sing, O my lips, and joyfully proclaim
The spotless Virgin's praise and glorious name.
O Lady pure! extend thy gracious aid;
Guard me from all my foes, O spotless Maid!

Thee from Eternity, the world's great Lord
Ordained thee mother of His own pure Word;
Thee, He adorned His Spouse, and *made thee free*
From Adam's sin, that stained his progeny—
Free art thou from the fatal curse of earth,
Holy and pure before thy joyful birth.

Oh guard us safely in our dubious way,
Lead us secure to Heaven's eternal day;
And in that last and awful hour of death,
Sweet Virgin Queen, receive our parting breath."

In the interval between the first and second periods of the council, on the 10th of November, 1549, Pope Paul III. died, and Cardinal De Monte, the former legate of the council, was chosen to the pontifical chair, and took the title of Julius III. A characteristic anecdote is copied by Cramp from Thuanus, in relation to this wicked and unscrupulous man. Soon after his election to the popedom, Julius bestowed a cardinal's hat on a young man named Innocent, the keeper of his monkey. When the cardinals remonstrated with him on the occasion of this promotion, he replied—"And what merit did you discover in me, that you raised me to the popedom?" Such was the man whose influence prevailed more than any other, in establishing the decrees which we have enumerated, in the first eight sessions of the self-styled "sacred, holy, œcumenical, and general Council of Trent."

Under the pontificate of the same Pope, the council was convened again, May 1, 1551. In his bull for reassembling the council, the lordly pontiff asserted that he alone possessed the power of convening and directing general councils, commanded, "in the plenitude of apostolical authority," the prelates to repair to Trent, promised (or *threatened*) to preside, if possible, in person, and denounced eternal vengeance on all who should disregard his decree. Wolfius says that Julius III. about this time issued a new coinage, with this presumptuous motto, "Gens et regnum quod mihi non paruerit, peribit."* The promise or threat of his personal presidency, however, was never executed, although Julius, by his legates, exercised an almost absolute control over the council, during the twelve months that it continued together till its second adjournment. The principal doctrinal decrees of this period were those relating to transubstantiation, penance, auricular confession, satisfaction, and extreme unction.

When the council separated the second time, they adjourned for only two years, but it was not till January 18th, 1562, after an interval of nearly ten years, that it reassembled, under the pontificate of Pope Pius IV., to put the finish-

* "The nation and kingdom which will not obey me shall perish." Wolfius, *Lect Memorab.* tom. II., p 640.

ing stroke to its work. The principal subjects embraced by the decrees and the canons of this closing period were the mass, the sacrament of orders, matrimony, indulgences, invocation of saints, the use of images and relics, and the denial of the cup to the laity. It is a mistake to suppose, as is frequently done, that the decrees of the Council of Trent were discussed with Christian harmony or decorum, or decided by the unanimous convictions of the assembled fathers. Even a cursory examination of the works of Sarpi, Pallavicini, and Le Plat, the original authorities on this subject, is abundantly sufficient to correct this erroneous supposition. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Instead of harmony, there was bickering, strife, contention—descending on some occasion to personal vituperation and abuse, and even to bodily violence.* Many speeches delivered in the council, as well as votes, were in firm and decided opposition to the pontifical control, and to the unscriptural character of the doctrines established; and some of the members were even accused of being "Protestants in the monks' dress."

The debates on withholding the cup from the laity, as given by the original historians, are well worthy of study. Some of the speeches exhibit, of course, the most entire subserviency to pontifical dictation; others of them exhibit a noble independence, and more than one would not discredit a Protestant theologian. Among the latter, was an eloquent oration of a learned divine, who had been sent by the Emperor and clergy of Hungary as their delegate, who, in his after life, became a Protestant, and adopted *Baptist sentiments*

* Pallavicini gives a circumstantial account, in the sixth chapter of his eight book, of a quarrel which led to personal violence between two of the *holy fathers*, St. Felix, bishop of Cava, and Zannetine, bishop of Cheronæa. After a speech by the former, the latter whispered to a friend that he was "disgusted with the man's ignorance and effrontery." St. Felix, hearing part of the words, demanded of Zannetine to repeat what he had said. The latter repeated aloud the words he had used, when the bishop of Cava, with a countenance inflamed with rage, rushed upon Zannetine, and seized him by the beard, tore out a handful of hair and fled. ("*Saïssissant son collègue à la barbe, il lui arracha force poils, et se retira aussitôt.*") It was well that pistols and bowie knives were unknown in those days, or the historian might have had occasion to record more bloody scenes than this.

in relation to the ordinances of the gospel. This learned and eloquent man was the accomplished Andrew Dudith, who was received to the council as the bishop of Tinia, to which preferment he had been appointed by the Emperor of Hungary. As the readers of the *CHRISTIAN REVIEW* may well be supposed to feel some interest in whatever relates to this *future Baptist in the Council of Trent*, we will here give a few particulars in relation to him, which are not found in Cramp or Bungener.* He was the son of Jerome Dudith, a privy councillor of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, and a noble Venetian lady, his wife. He was born at the family castle, near Buda, in February, 1533, and was sent to the Council of Trent in 1562, when under thirty years of age. Previous to this, he had accompanied Cardinal Pole to England, whose life he afterwards published in eloquent Latin; he had paid a visit to Italy, and acquired much celebrity as a scholar by the publication of some learned classical criticisms; he had also been received with much favor at the court of Catherine de Medici of France; and having addressed that queen in Italian, she had complimented him by the remark that she had thought it impossible for a Hungarian to speak Italian with so much eloquence and ease. Admired and applauded wherever he went, he visited, in 1561, the court of the Emperor at Vienna, and was, by Ferdinand, appointed to the bishopric of Tinia in 1561. In the council to which he was sent the following year, his extraordinary talents and eloquence soon attracted attention. He made one oration in favor of the marriage of the clergy, and another, of great power, against withholding the cup from the laity. This latter has been preserved by Le Plat,† and is one of the most elaborate and conclusive speeches in all that voluminous collection. He spoke with such eloquence and power, that even the legates, though opposed to his views, could not withhold their approbation. They wrote to Cardinal Borromei that the orator had occupied the time intended for other

* Cramp makes a brief but honorable mention of Dudith, in a note of three lines, p. 271. Bungener does not mention his name.

† Le Plat, *Acta et Monumenta*, vol. V., p. 472-488.

business, but that the council were so charmed with him, that it had not been perceived. They had never heard anything like it. But Dudith was too independent to submit his own opinion to that of the Pope and his legates, and as the views which he so eloquently advocated were opposed to the decrees which they were determined should pass, he was, at the request of the Pope, soon recalled by the Emperor Ferdinand, who approved his conduct, and rewarded him with other preferments.*

The only allusion which Pallavicini, who is always unfair towards the opponents of the papal views, makes to this eloquent oration of Dudith, which excited the approbation of his friends, the fear of his enemies, and the admiration of all, is the following ill-natured remark. "L'évêque de Tinia, procureur de clergé de Hongrie, fit à sa manière, une espece de harangue, dont le poids n'egalait pas la grosseur; et dans laquelle il prouva, non la bonté de sa cause, mais l'ardeur de son zele."†

A few years after his return home, Dudith renounced the errors of popery, and resigned all his ecclesiastical honors and preferments, principally in consequence of the impression made upon his mind by the writings of the two celebrated Baptist writers, Blandrata and Davidis. He was excommunicated by the Pope, but, like Luther, treated his anathema with contempt, and still continued to enjoy the Emperor's protection. He subsequently became a member and an occasional teacher of a Polish Baptist church in the town of Smila. He died in 1589, at Breslau in Silesia, at the age of fifty-six.

A division took place at Trent in the congregation, held September 9th, 1562, on the question upon which Dudith made his eloquent speech, which serves to confirm our remark upon the want of unanimity in the decisions of the council. There were 166 votes in all, which were divided as follows: 29 approved of conceding the cup to the laity in all

* For additional particulars of Andrew Dudith, see *Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 591-594.

† French edition of Pallavicini in 3 vols., royal octavo: Montrouge, 1844. Vol. 3, b. 18, c. 4, s. 22, p. 1274.

cases; 31 others were in favor of the same concession, but wished the execution of the proposed decree to be committed to the discretion and will of the Pope; 38 opposed the concession altogether; 24 were in favor of referring the matter absolutely to the Pope; 19 were in favor of granting the cup to the Bohemians and the Hungarians, represented by Dudith, but to refuse it to all others; 14 desired to further the postponement of the subject; and 11 were altogether undecided or neutral. Such was the chaos of opinion existing among these popish fathers, who undertook to frame a creed for the whole Christian world. The same diversity of views were exhibited on many other questions, when submitted to the unbiased votes of the assembly. All this discussion ended, however, in just such a conclusion as was predetermined at Rome. The decree was passed denying the cup to the laity in just the terms the Pope wished, and the curse against opposers was annexed in the usual form—"Whoever shall affirm that the holy Catholic church had not just grounds and reasons for restricting the laity and non-officiating clergy to communion, in the species of bread only:—let him be accursed!"

The fact was notorious that there was a constant communication between the Pope's legates at Trent and their master at Rome, and that the decrees to be presented to the council, both on doctrine and discipline, were so framed as to meet his approbation, and duly submitted to his inspection. So that a witty expression employed first by De Lanssac, one of the French ambassadors to the council (in a letter to De Lisle, another ambassador at Rome), grew into a proverb—viz., that, "the Holy Spirit was sent in a travelling bag from Rome to Trent."†

The same influence from Rome effectually prevented the enactment of any such reformatory decrees, as might abridge the privileges, or diminish the revenues of the Pope and his creatures. True, there were some slight reforms effected—principally to suppress scandal—such for instance, as that "the

† Cramp, p. 250. Le Plat, vol. V., p. 169. The Trentine fathers, in issuing their decrees, professed to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (in *Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata*).

children of priests were forbidden to hold any ecclesiastical office in the same church in which their fathers officiated"—an enactment, by the way, which unwittingly revealed the corrupt state of the morals among the papal clergy. Viewed with Romish eyes, some of the reformatory decrees in relation to pluralities, episcopal residence, simony, &c., appeared of considerable importance, but scarcely anything was done, in the way of reform, to meet the just demands of the Emperor and the princes of Germany, and the better portion of the laity, who had so long been scandalized by the corruption and vices of the Pope, the cardinals, and the whole Roman hierarchy. The opinion formed by some of the result of the council, in this branch of their labors, may be surmised from a satirical Latin verse given by Le Plat,* composed probably by some one of the Spanish members, when their endeavors to procure reform had proved ineffectual, of which the learned reader will excuse the translation we have subjoined, and with which we shall close our remarks on the doings of this famous council.

"Concilii quæ prima fuit, si quæris origo,
Quo medium dicam, quo quoque finis erat?
A nihilo incepit, medium finisque recedet
In nihil. Ex nihilo nascitur ecce nihil."

If of this noted council you demand,
What the beginning, middle, and the close?
We answer that from nothing it began,—
In nothing ended—lo! from nothing, nothing flows.

ART. VII.—PROGRESS OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES.

The Progress of Baptist Principles in the Last Hundred Years.

By THOMAS F. CURTIS, Professor of Theology in the University at Lewisburg, Pa., and author of *Communion, &c.*, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman. 1855. 422 pp., 12mo.

"It cannot be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new

era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly-awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown or unheard of." The volume before us will point out how far this "new era in human affairs," so emphatically asserted by Daniel Webster, is indebted to the influence of Baptist principles.

This is a book of mark. They greatly err, who imagine, on reading or hearing its title, that it is merely a "partizan book." It records the history of great principles. Every man, of every creed or of no creed, will find it alike interesting, as indicating the progress of his race for the last century. Every American, who glories in the progress of his country, is especially bound to read it, and ponder the profound lesson it involves. To be ignorant of facts so important in themselves, so world-wide in their relations, and so pregnant with the destinies of the vast future of our country and of humanity, is to be deprecated, especially so by any man who studies the signs of the times, and honestly wishes to perform his duties as an American citizen and a Christian.

To Baptists who take up this book we would commend these other words of the great statesman before quoted, only using the word "nations" by analogy, to suggest the idea of religious denominations: "It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance, but it is that we may judge justly of our situation and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge this consideration of our position and our character among the nations of the earth. Let us contemplate this connection, which binds the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness."

The occasion of this volume is thus stated by the author, but not as usual in the preface. Lest it should be overlooked by any reader, we choose to give it here:

"Not quite a century ago was born one who for many

years was a Baptist minister of great usefulness. It has been the lot of the writer of these pages to preach occasionally in the pulpit that was once his, and to administer the rites of religion to several of his descendants of three successive generations. Three of his children, eleven of his grandchildren, and either five or six of his great-grandchildren, have, to the knowledge of the author, joined the same denomination, by a profession of their personal faith in Christian baptism. Nor is he aware of more than one of all his descendants having reached the age of twenty who has died without being baptized, or who is now living without having submitted to that ordinance. Most of them have made a profession of religion early in life, and one most satisfactory case, some years ago, at the early age of ten years. It was when some of these young persons were about to be baptized, that the writer was naturally led to consider the progress in this country of those principles of which their great-grandfather had been so powerful an advocate. Then it was that the ideas of this work first presented themselves to the author.

"And these circumstances are now mentioned both for the encouragement of pious parents who dedicate their children to God by prayer, as showing His love and faithfulness to children's children, and also to relieve the scruples and fears of such Christians as suppose that infant baptism is required in order to render His gracious promises to Christian parents more firmly sealed and sure. Baptists maintain as strongly as others the duty of *all* parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They acknowledge the propriety of Christians consecrating themselves and every relation they sustain to God, whether as husbands or as wives, or as parents, and humbly dedicating all connected with them. 'Thus are their children holy, and thus their wives or husbands.' (1 Cor. vii. 14.)"

Our author is usually happy in his arrangements, but in this one instance we venture to differ with him. An introduction so appropriate and conciliatory we confess seems to us quite as appropriate for a preface to the whole volume as to the chapter in which it occurs, and much more likely to win the attention of conscientious and candid Pedobaptists.

Professor Curtis has given us a copious and attractive table of contents, arranged in the clearest order; yet from that alone no one could imagine the richness of the actual fare. It indicates, indeed, the breadth and range of the topics, but by no means the variety of the facts and testimonies, the perfection of their arrangement, the force of their application, or the rare felicity of illustration by which they are made luminous and decisive.

We think he greatly undervalues his own work, when he says, in opening his preface, "This volume might almost be called 'Concessions of Pedobaptists as to the Errors of Infant Baptism, and the importance of Baptist Principles.' The aim of the writer has chiefly been to arrange these authorities, and point out the consequences of these admissions." Inferior men, in our opinion, might have done all this; but Professor Curtis—with all due deference to his modest opinion of himself—has done far more. An acute Pedobaptist clergyman, whose attention is much directed to the controversy, remarked to us, "I have read but the first two sentences of the preface, yet I see that this man knows what he is about." Now we must be permitted to doubt the sagaciousness of our Pedobaptist friend in this particular. Yea, we must even doubt whether the author himself was aware of the extent of his own services to the cause of truth, when he penned those modest prefatory sentences. It will be one great object in this article to point out the actual scope and value of these services.

The work is divided into three books. The first book treats of the progress of those Baptist principles which have been actually adopted, or conceded in theory by the most enlightened Pedobaptists within the last hundred years, both in this country and abroad. The second book discusses those lesser points which are still in controversy; and the third book, the progress of those great principles of evangelical Christianity held in common by true Protestants, but most consistently by the Baptists. The concluding chapter sums up the results of the work, and gives the reasons why it was written.

We cannot perhaps do better than to give the author's

brief introduction entire. It exposes a mistake of great moment.

"By many persons Baptists are supposed to differ from other evangelical Christians merely in relation to two points of a single rite—the *form* and *time* of baptism. Hence, even when believed to be correct in their opinions, they are supposed to be wrong in spirit, lacking in charity, building up a sect upon a ceremony, and making every other Christian 'an offender for a word.'

"Those who have fairly examined their history, however, will have observed that they have uniformly maintained a body of principles of which their baptism has been merely the appointed symbol. Some of these they have held alone, and others frequently in common with Christians of different denominations.

"The present work is intended to trace out the *progress* of Baptist principles during the last hundred years, *their coherence and consistency.*"

After reducing these principles to three classes, to which he assigns the three grand divisions of his work, the author remarks of the first class—those which have been by degrees conceded in theory by many of the wisest and best of other denominations—that they "will be found to form such a basis of concessions as to leave it impossible that opposite principles should long survive among enlightened evangelical Christians." This is strong language; but so far as this country of full religious freedom is concerned, it appears to be amply justified by the facts here first collected in anything like proper order, to show their bearing on the practical result.

These "conceded principles" are five, and are thus stated:

1. Freedom of Conscience and the entire Separation of Church and State.
2. A Converted Church Membership.
3. Sacraments inoperative without Choice and Faith.
4. Believers the only Scriptural Subjects of Baptism.
5. Immersion always the Baptism of the New Testament.

We find the following interesting fact in the opening remarks:

"A Pedobaptist gentleman in Philadelphia has been for some years making a collection of all works on the baptismal controversy. He has already obtained more than fourteen hundred volumes in the English language alone, which he proposes to arrange chronologically, and to present to the library of Princeton Theological Seminary. In examining this collection, two things are specially noticeable: that this controversy had of late years been conducted in a far more Christian spirit, and that the points of difference are greatly narrowed down."

The change in spirit is seen by comparing the views of Dr. Featley, two hundred years ago, with those of Chevalier Bunsen, in our own time, as to the propriety of allowing the Baptists even a civil toleration. The former, in his *Dippers Dipped*, thinks fines, fetters, and banishment the fit punishment of such opinions; the latter, in his *Hippolytus*, does not see "for what good internal reason the Baptists, as such, can be excluded from a national church." Perhaps he forgets in this expression of liberal feeling, that the Baptists are in principle radically and for ever opposed to church establishments.

But the degree in which the points in controversy have narrowed down is still more remarkable. Our author illustrates this point by a figure of singular beauty and point. He is speaking of the times following the Reformation.

"Often where the heart was evangelical, many of the remains of popery hung about it, as a fog will linger on the surface of the waters, while at a little elevation all is clear. It may not impede the current or the tide, or the motion of the vessels borne upon the surface, but prevents the navigators from seeing where they are going, or pursuing an undeviating course with certainty and safety. The clearness and consistency of Baptist principles have enabled those who have held them to penetrate these vapors with precision and ease, as a ship guided by a well-adjusted compass sails through a mist at sea. But then the directness with which they have advanced to their point, has seemed to others not only dangerous to them, but to all around. By degrees those fogs have been clearing away. Vast multitudes of the most

pious men of the age, many of them Pedobaptists in name, have become what Dr. Bushnell calls 'Baptists in theory,' to such an extent that they ought, as he admits, in all consistency to become so in practice.

"There is nothing which will be more likely to surprise the student of the ecclesiastical history of this country, than to notice that many of the points which were in dispute a hundred years ago, and which were originally regarded as Baptist peculiarities, have become established principles of the great unwritten creed—the general religious sentiment of the whole country—the common law, so to speak, of American Christianity. It is probable that when some of them are named, the only astonishment and difficulty with many readers will be to realize that these things were ever disputed or even doubted."

Freedom of conscience is the first illustration of the truth of these remarks. Few of the millions who enjoy this inestimable blessing in all its plentitude, are aware that it is inseparable from Baptist principles, and that to them chiefly is our country indebted for the first assertion, example, and vindication of this great right of our common nature. Of the first of these positions, Prof. Curtis gives a series of the most luminous historical proofs—which, however, admit of being brightened and strengthened still further by other additional facts—from the earliest ages of Christianity, and particularly from the time of the Reformation to our own times. Of the second, he adduces another demonstrative series of proofs from the history of our own country, showing also the gradually increasing influence of the principle over the sentiments and institutions of other nations, both cisatlantic and transatlantic, including England, Europe, Turkey, and China, within the last hundred years. This is a portion worthy of profound study. Every Baptist, especially, should ponder it with wonder and gratitude. The facts are both authentic and decisive. They are not yet known as they should be, even by ourselves. Perhaps they were never so fully collected, or so happily arranged; though by no means exhausting the subject, they are sufficient for the purpose; and Prof. Curtis is careful to

guage and guard their just effect on the reader's mind, by the following discriminating observations which we find on p. 57 :

"Nor was it any confidence in the purity of human nature so long before to contend for an unrestrained conscience ; rather was it a strong sense of the want which all men feel of just such a system as the gospel to meet their deepest necessities ; and to heal the diseases of the soul. It was not that they were indifferent to religion or to truth ; but because they knew that while the sword of the magistrate might produce hypocrites, it could never make Christians. It was not even that they grudged tithes ; but because they relied on the power of religion to support worship, and felt it an injury and an insult to conscience to make men pay for systems in which they did not believe. It was not (in fine) that they despised governments, but because they honored the government and authority of God, that they denied the jurisdiction of the magistrate in matters of religion."

We are glad to see this great principle, as a Baptist principle, here put on its real grounds. No doubt Unitarians and Infidels, Irreligionists, and Anarchists have united in maintaining entire liberty of conscience and the separation of Church and State, and from the very motives above referred to ; but among Baptists always, and now also among other evangelical Christians, it is maintained as inseparable from the gospel itself, which makes free every human conscience, because "every one of us shall give account of himself unto God." "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; and he that believeth not shall be damned." In the words of a great orator and statesman of Rhode Island, "What man can deem himself free, when in the primary concern and consolation of his present, and the hopes and fears of his future existence, he is shackled by authority, debarred from light, and taught to shrink from a vagrant uprising thought of non-conformity to the prescribed creed as blasphemy and enmity towards God?" Hence too, it follows that where religious liberty exists, as a vital principle in any community, it naturally opens the path to political liberty ; and that without

religious freedom civil and political liberty cannot be securely or long maintained. Of the last of these positions what striking instances have we seen in France, in Spain, in Mexico, and in South America! Of the former the history of our own country supplies the most illustrious example. "Political freedom," it has been eloquently said, "with cautious if not timid step, with her person half concealed, and the brightness of her glory veiled, attended in the train of the Protestant Reformation. In the North American Colonies she marched with a fearless and defying tread and bearing, and with a voice sometimes loud and dread, sometimes soft and composed, scattered dismay over her foes, or breathed hope and condolence to her votaries; because her way was opened by her pioneer—because she was strengthened, sustained, and invincibly secured by her heaven-born sister, Religious Freedom.*"

And whence had this Religious Freedom its origin in this country? Prof. Curtis has shown that its origin was in Rhode Island, among the Baptists; that there and by them it was planted; among them alone at first it flourished in its fulness of power and sweetness; and from them alone was gradually disseminated over the land. We know that even since 1850 this honor has been claimed for Maryland Catholics, both by prelates and statesmen; but the facts presented in this book settle the question forever. We are happy to add here a testimony, which seems to have escaped Prof. Curtis' notice, from the great historical oration of Hon. William Hunter, from which we have before quoted:

"Do you not perceive, freemen of Rhode Island, that the basis of your political institutions was not merely *toleration*, but a *perfect freedom* in matters of religious concernment? No nice exceptions, no insulting indulgences, which while they allow the exercise of voluntary worship, deny the *right*, and pretend to confer a favor,—deface the consistent beauty of our plan. Your ancestors announced this opinion, and enjoyed its legal exercise, long before the able and amiable Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore, or the sagacious and bene-

* Hunter's Oration before the citizens of Providence, 1826.

volent Quaker William Penn, adopted and enforced it. In this great discovery, *you have the incontestable merit of priority.* This is a glory of which you cannot be robbed—a glory which no historian dare pass by unnoticed; though he may be born in a land which reluctantly eulogizes what it secretly envies, the proud preëminence in effectuating that which has contributed to the repose and felicity of mankind, more than any other discovery or declaration—saving that of the GOSPEL, whence it was borrowed, and from which it necessarily results.” To the same effect is the late testimony of the learned German historian Gervinus, to which the readers of this Review can hardly be strangers. “Thus far at least,” as our author remarks, “has the whole world been coming round to those great truths first embodied, vindicated, and maintained by the Baptists. Except the Russian domination, there is hardly a country of importance in the world that has not felt the power of this principle. Progress has been made which a hundred years ago would have been impossible to anticipate; and from America to China, from England to India, doctrines of religious liberty have been carried home to the hearts of many millions.”

But the Baptists of Rhode Island did not first “discover” this principle, as some imagine. It was held by all the Baptists before them with equal precision and purity in the Old World—by the Waldenses as by the Mennonites; by Andrew Dudith, in the sixteenth century, as by John Milton, in the seventeenth; by John Smyth and Mr. Helwiss, in Holland, as clearly as by John Clarke and Roger Williams, in Rhode Island. And it was thus held at that time by them alone. No other denomination avowed it. Papists, Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Brownists, and Independents alike repudiated it as the dreadful dogma of the despised Anabaptists. John Robinson denounced it as strongly, if not as violently, as John Knox. He defends stoutly the power of the civil magistrate to “punish civilly religious actions;” “by compulsion to repress public and notable idolatry; as also to provide that the truth of God in his ordinances be taught and published, and by some penalty to provoke his subjects universally unto hearing for

their instruction and conversion; yea, to inflict the same upon them, *if, after due teaching, they offer not themselves unto the church.*" These opinions of Robinson were planted in Massachusetts by the Pilgrims, and there soon bore their bloody fruits. But the opposite opinions of his Baptist antagonist Smith were borne back to England by his church, in the face of persecution, and thence were brought a few years after to Rhode Island.

The embarkation of the Pilgrims for the New World, in 1620, has been long and justly celebrated; but it remains for another age to celebrate, in a way worthy of its sublime glory, the return of that little Baptist church to their native land, in 1611, nine years earlier, as they declared, "to minister to Christ in the persons of their persecuted brethren;" and on the question of persecution itself, "to challenge the King and State to their faces, and not give way to them, no, not a foot." In their Confession of Faith, of 1614, they explicitly declare that "the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and Conscience." It was the very year that King James issued our present English version of the Bible, in which this noble band of Christian heroes unfurled in England the banner of moral and religious freedom, and offered up themselves for its defence in this Thermopylæ of the Christian world. "How much England, how much America, how much the whole world owes, and will owe, to this one great act of unsurpassed moral heroism," says Professor Curtis, "who can tell? From the hour that they set foot in England those principles have been steadily advancing."

[CONTINUED IN THE NEXT NUMBER.]

ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Illustrations of Scripture, suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, Professor in Newton Theological Institution. (Boston: Heath & Graves. 1855. 12mo, pp. 340.) *Bible Light from Bible Lands*. By the Rev. JOSEPH ANDERSON, Helensburgh, Scotland. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo, pp. 343.) We have here two works very similar in general design. Both are intended to illustrate certain portions of the sacred writings, by reference to things as now existing in the Holy Land. Neither, properly speaking, is a book of travels, though both writers make constant use of their respective experiences and observations while travelling in Palestine.

Our readers have already seen portions of Dr. Hackett's work, which we originally published in this journal. All who read his contributions to our pages, we are sure, will welcome this admirable volume. The work is divided into eight chapters, entitled, respectively, Eastern Travelling; Manners and Customs; Climate, Soil, and Productions; Agriculture, its Operations and Implements; Geographical Accuracy of the Bible; Jewish Opinions and Usages; Jerusalem and its Environs; and Sketches of Particular Places. Under these heads the learned author has treated a great variety of topics, all tending to elucidate the sacred volume. The various sketches, though exhibiting a remarkable power of condensation, are ample, and, withal, singularly clear and terse in expression. Dr. Hackett makes no attempt at fine writing. His style, however, is always pure, generally elegant, and sometimes it rises to real grandeur and power. He has undoubtedly given us one of the most useful works on the Holy Land, for popular use, ever issued from the American press.

There is less unity in Mr. Anderson's work than in Professor Hackett's, though his arrangement is not without its merits. He divides his work into three books. Book I. treats of "Predictions Verified;" Book II., of "Descriptions Illustrated;" and Book III., of "Allusions Explained." He embraces a somewhat wider range than the Newton Professor, and is less methodical in arrangement, and more diffuse in style. Still his work is valuable, and will contribute to the better understanding of the sacred oracles.

Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament. St. John. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D. D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Scotch National Church, Crown Court, London. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 464.) Dr. Cumming is one of the most voluminous religious writers of the present day. We have often alluded to his peculiarities in these pages, though we have never felt able to speak in very high terms of his productions. For scholars and theologians his works have little value, being, in fact, only a very cumbrous and wordy rehash of matter which is more accessible in other forms. And the value of his works for popular

reading is much diminished by their want of distinctness and point. His style is diffuse and ornate, and abounds in figures and similes, which are sometimes quite felicitous. He is always sound in doctrine, and barring his hatred of Romanism, which at times is almost excessive, evangelical in feeling. We must give our readers one or two illustrative passages. The following comprises a part of the author's reflections on our Lord's meeting with the woman of Samaria :

"Mark here the preacher of this wonderful sermon, Jesus, the Son of God, weary, hungry, thirsty, seated upon the well of Samaria! How clearly Christ was man! We can go with the Unitarian here in everything, and say that Christ is man. We have no doubt that he is man. We only object to the Unitarian's refusing to turn over the page of his Bible, and read upon the obverse side, he is also God. All that can be predicated of God can be said of Jesus; all that can be predicated of man can also be said of him. Then here he was, the Creator of heaven and earth, weary, exhausted, and seeking rest: here he is—He that opened all the springs and channels of the earth, that placed the ocean in his oozy bed, that controls the waves, and sends his showers to refresh the moor—here he is, seated by the side of Jacob's well, asking a stranger woman from Samaria, 'Give me to drink.' How true, 'though rich, for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich.'

"We learn another lesson. Persons often come seeking an earthly object, and unexpectedly they retire with a heavenly one. This woman came to draw water from Jacob's well, and she drinks, ere she goes, from the fountain of Jacob's God. This woman came seeking a supply for her household; unexpectedly, when she went away with a supply of living water for thousands of men in Samaria. Some come to church to scoff, and they retire to pray; some come to hear a human preacher, and unexpectedly they hear the preacher's God. Some come seeking water from the cisterns of time, and they go away, unexpectedly to themselves—and it will not be the least part of their song of gratitude throughout eternity—refreshed with water from the fountain of living waters. I have noticed the carping words of the woman: 'How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria?' I have noticed the miserable ecclesiastical prejudice that subsisted in sects then, and, strange to say, amid the light of the nineteenth century, subsists amidst the church still; though one feels that, like snow after a thaw, it is only found in patches here and there, where the Sun of Righteousness has not yet penetrated. Jesus instantly tells her, what was far more precious than the settlement of an ecclesiastical dispute, "If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.' 'If thou knewest the gift of God.' Who is that gift of God? All things are gifts of God: one is *the* gift of God. Hence the apostle says, 'Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift.' There is not a flower that blooms in the garden, or that wafts its sweetness on the desert air, that his breath did not give fragrance to, and his hand give tints to; there is not a star in the sky that he did not make; there is nothing so exquisitely minute that his fingers did not form; there is nothing so magnificently great that his power did not make it. The first showers of spring, the storms of winter, the sunshine of summer, are all God's gifts. There is not a crumb on our table that is not his gift; and if you had eyes to see, and knew his gift, you would see upon the bread that is on your table the stamp and superscription of him that was nailed to the cross for us. But above all earthly, providential, and temporal gifts, there is one that is *the* gift; and if thou knewest the gift of God thou wouldst have asked of him, 'God so loved

the world that he gave ;' that is, he made the gift of—' that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life.' And then he tells her, 'If thou knewest, thou wouldst have asked.' Does not that teach that prayer must be preceded by knowledge? 'If thou knewest the gift, thou wouldst have asked of him.' If you knew what you are, what God has done for you, your lips would not be dumb, and your hearts would not be prayerless. And then he adds, very beautifully, 'Thou wouldst have asked, and he would have given thee ;' implying that as sure as the empty creature asks, so sure the full God will abundantly give ; and he would have given you living water to drink. He contrasts the water contained in the well of Jacob with that living water that he had to bestow" (pp. 56—58).

This extract affords a fair sample of the average of this volume. These pages furnish nothing, we believe, less orthodox in doctrine, and scarcely any thing less common-place. Occasionally, however, the author says things which, if not more original, are yet more graphic and striking. We instance the following, on *Christ the Way* :

"When Christ announced in these words, 'I am the way,' he indicated certain great truths. First there is union restored between heaven, to which he went, and earth, that has travelled away from it. Earth was separated from heaven by sin, as an island struck off from a grand continent ; and a dreary, a deep, and an unpassable sea of wrath rolls in the mid-channel between. Jesus Christ is the way that bridges that deep sea, that reunites the severed island to the ancient continent, and of twain antagonistic precipices makes one holy, united, and happy one. Ask the deist, 'How shall I cross this deep, broad chasm?' His answer is, 'You must risk it.' Ask the Romanist, 'How shall I cross this deep chasm that is between a sinful world and a holy continent?' and his answer will be, 'The church, aided by the Virgin Mary ; the suffrages of priests, the penances you pay, and the absolution of the church.' But ask the Christian, 'How shall I get to heaven?' and his answer is, 'There is only one way, and that way spans the chasm, reknits the shores of the severed land, brings into union and communion those who are not only severed but antagonistic to each other ; one end of the way, like Jacob's ladder, resting on the lowest level of humanity ; the other end of the way, like the same glorious ladder, touching the very throne of God, and enabling them that are here in this realm of exile to reach the heaven that Christ has gone to make ready for all that come to the Father by him" (pp. 238, 239).

If our readers like this, they can obtain more of it by purchasing this volume ; and then, should they desire to follow our author farther, there are nearly thirty similar volumes from the same hand, all occupying about the same literary and theological level.

The Bible Union Reporter, containing The English Scriptures Revived. Monthly. (New York American Bible Union. 1855. 4to.) We have received Numbers I. and II. of this work, containing a part of the Revision of the Book of Job, by Rev. Dr. CONANT, Professor in the Rochester Theological Seminary. We believe that there has been an additional number issued, but we have not seen it. We will frankly say that we are pleased with that portion of Professor Conant's work now before us. All scholars will endorse the commendation of it, expressed by one of our contributors,

in the present number of this journal. Professor Conant is a ripe scholar, and possesses not only a sound judgment, but great refinement of taste. To a comprehensive and critical knowledge of Hebrew, and a thorough acquaintance with the literature of his theme, he adds those other indispensable qualifications in a reviser of the English Scriptures, a nice appreciation of the force of English terms, and a rare facility in combining them.

We have examined, with some care, the alterations which the learned reviser has made in the common version, and we designed to speak of them somewhat in detail. But we find ourselves compelled to forego this intention. It is proper to say, however, that scarcely a change has been made for which there does not exist a solid reason; while in the majority of instances the changes are of so obvious a character as to justify themselves. Of course, he has availed himself freely of the labors of those who have gone before him in this field of sacred research. We fancy that we can here and there trace the influence of the two or three English translators who have hitherto gleaned most successfully in the same field; though it is evident that he has followed no one with anything bordering on servility. He is more terse and finished than Barnes, and less sweeping in his alterations than Wemyss. His revision, so far, presents something more than a combination of the excellences of these writers, with not many of their defects. If he has a fault, we think it is on the side of conservatism. Still it may be better to err in this direction, than unnecessarily to shock the reverence so deeply rooted in the hearts of our people for the style and idioms of the common version.

As compared with our English version, we think there can be no question in reference to the greater accuracy of Professor Conant's revision. And we think that in point of suitableness, copiousness, dignity, and harmony of diction, the improvement which he has made is still more marked. Let our readers compare the following, comprising the third chapter of Job, with the common version :

"Afterward Job opened his mouth, and cursed his day. And Job answered and said :

 "Perish the day wherein I was born;
And the night, which said : a man child is conceived !
That day, let it be darkness :
Let not God from above seek for it,
Nor light shine forth upon it.
Let darkness and death-shade reclaim it ;
Let clouds rest upon it ;
Let darkenings of the day affright it,
That night, thick darkness seize upon it !
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year,
Nor come into the number of the months.
Lo, let that night be barren,
And no sound of joy enter therein.
Let them that curse days curse it ;
They that are skilled to rouse up Leviathan.
Let the stars of its twilight be dark ;
Let it wait for light, and there be none ;

Neither let it behold the eyelids of the morning.
Because it did not shut the doors of the womb that bore me,
And hide sorrow from my eyes.

“Wherefore did I not die from the womb—
Come forth from the womb and expire?
Why were the knees ready for me,
And why the breast, that I might suck?
For now, I had lain down and should be at rest;
I had slept, then would there be repose for me:
With kings and counsellors of the earth,
Who have built themselves ruins:
Or with princes, who had gold,
Who filled their houses with silver;
Or like a hidden, untimely birth, I should not be;
As infants that never see light.
There the wicked cease from troubling,
And there the weary are at rest.
The prisoners are all at ease;
They hear not the taskmaster’s voice.
Small and great, both are there;
And the servant is free from his master.

“Wherefore gives He light to the wretched,
And life to the sorrowful in heart;
Who long for death, and it comes not,
And search for it more than for hidden treasure;
Who are joyful, even to exulting,
Are glad, when they find the grave:
To a man, whose way is hidden,
And God hedgeeth about him?
For with my food comes my sighing;
And my moans are poured forth as water.
For I feared evil, and it has overtaken me;
And that which I dreaded is come upon me;
I was not at ease; nor was I secure;
Nor was I at rest; yet trouble came.”

This is very fine; and it gives the reader a very fair idea of the manner in which Professor Conant has executed his delicate task. We shall watch the continuation of his work with great interest.

Patriarchy, or the Family: Its Constitution and Probation. By JOHN HARRIS, D.D., author of “Pre-Adamite Earth,” “Man Primeval,” &c. (Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1855. 12mo, pp. 472.) This work is evidently intended as a supplement to the author’s previous volume, entitled “Man Primeval.” In that work he discussed the constitution and relations of the individual man. In this he treats of the family, or the unfolding of the individual man into the social man. He divides his work into four parts. Part first discusses the principles which underlie the domestic constitution. The second part treats of the transition stages of the institution, as developed in the early history of the race. The third part discusses the reasonableness of the Divine method, and the grounds of the changes unfolded by the history of the institution. Part fourth is devoted to a consideration of the ultimate end of the domestic economy as a me-

dium of the Divine manifestation. It will be seen from this very general statement of the author's method, that he discusses the family in its constitution, its history, and its relations, physical, social, moral, and religious. This he has done with ability and good taste. His work is calculated to do good as a corrective of the excesses which have recently been manifested under the name of "Free Love." He discusses the true relations of the sexes with great clearness and force, and sets the divine law of marriage on an immovable basis. We hope that this volume will be extensively read. If it should not succeed in reclaiming the lawless, it will at least furnish the orderly and virtuous with arguments wherewith to combat the licentious sophistries of the time.

The World's Jubilee. By ANNA SILLIMAN. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. 12mo, pp. 343.) The author of this work is a Millenarian, and defends that view with considerable ability. We can commend the volume to those of our readers who desire to read a temperate, judicious, yet earnest statement and defence of the doctrine of an earthly Millennium.

The Heroes and Martyrs of the Modern Missionary Enterprise, by L. E. SMITH, Esq., is a well-written volume of some five hundred octavo pages. The work is illustrated with portraits of several of the missionaries, from steel plates, which, from their artistic skill, add materially to the general interest of the volume.

It will be found a welcome parlor companion with those who feel a lively interest in the cause of Missions; and is well adapted to fan the love of Christ to their hearts in an intenser flame, and engage them, with warmer aspirations, to seek out and conduct the benighted to the Way and Light of Life.

It is published by C. W. Polter, 56 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

The Heathen Religion, in its Popular and Symbolical Development. By REV. JOSEPH B. GROSS. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 372.) We have a work here written avowedly in the interest of heathenism. In his introduction the author says: "Nothing but a shameful ignorance, a pitiable prejudice, or the most contemptible pride, which denounces all investigations as a useless or a criminal labor, can have thus misrepresented the theology of heathenism, and distorted—nay, caricatured—its forms of religious worship. It is time that posterity should raise its voice in vindication of violated truth, and that the present age should learn to recognize in the hoary past at least a little of that common sense of which it boasts with as much self-complacency as if the prerogative of reason was the birthright only of modern times." The writer, we should judge, belongs to the Carlyle and Emerson school. Though he is a man of some research, and writes with considerable power, we cannot regard him as having laid his client under very weighty obligations.

Bethel; or the Claims of Public Worship. By W. W. EVERTS. (Louis-

ville: Hull & Bro. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Co. 1855. pp. 192.) This is a tract for the times. There is a neglect of the sanctuary which every good man would like to see remedied, and which this little book may contribute in some degree to do away. As the author observes, the Sabbath is worse than useless without public worship. As a literary production, it has its blemishes. The thirteenth and sixteenth sections might be merged; the name of the tenth is not happy, it being the same as the title of the book itself. The table of contents and the sections in the body do not correspond. Yet it bears evident marks of patient thought, close observation, and attentive reading. We should be pleased to see it in general circulation, and its contents in the hearts of every professor of religion, and of our whole nation. The theme might be extended, and in a separate work, by showing what is needful, that the house of God may be filled.

Christian Theism. The Testimony of Reason and Revelation to the Existence and Character of the Supreme Being. By ROBERT ANCHOR THOMPSON, M. A. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.)

Theism: The Witness of Reason and Nature to an All-wise and Beneficent Creator. By Rev. JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. (New York: Carter & Brothers. 1855.)

God Revealed in Creation and in Christ: Including an Examination of the Development Theory contained in "The Vestiges of Creation." By JAMES WALKER, Author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1855.)

We group these books together, because they relate to the same subject, and two of them are the recent Burnet Prize Essays, in reference to the origin of which, we presume, our readers are well informed. We have already expressed, in general terms, our estimate of Dr. Tulloch's work, which is written with great ability, and deserves a place in the library of every thinker. It is the second Prize Essay, but in our judgment ought to have been the first. Mr. Thompson's work, it is true, is a thoughtful and scholarly production, full of valuable information, and containing many important suggestions in the topics with which it is occupied; but, in arrangement and in logical power, it is somewhat faulty. It attempts too much, and while it discusses almost everything relative to the subject of natural and revealed religion, in their mutual connections, it leaves several points in considerable obscurity. Yet the book is exceedingly valuable in many respects. It is the production evidently of a man thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of philosophical and theological investigation. Except in the formal histories of metaphysical philosophy and of religious opinions, we do not know a work which contains so much condensed information on these and kindred topics. Here and there, too, we meet in its pages some truly eloquent passages. The style is perhaps a little too diffuse and ornate for such inquiries; yet it is always clear, accurate, and elegant. Mr. Thompson does not undertake to prove the existence of a supreme God. He

assumes, in fact, this great truth, as an instinctive or intuitive conviction of the human mind ; and his whole object is to vindicate its mental validity. Hence, instead of citing the various evidences in nature which are supposed to prove the Divine existence, he enters into an extended investigation of the mental powers, and traces the conviction to our deepest constitutional beliefs and wants. Having satisfied himself, and, it is to be hoped, his readers upon this point, he then proceeds to elucidate and enforce his general principles, by their application to the various facts and phenomena in nature and in man through which God reveals himself. He dwells, at some length, upon the question of the divine attributes, and especially the divine personality, and refutes, with much ingenious reasoning, the various infidel and atheistic theories which have appeared in the world. His remarks, especially upon the "pantheistic" and "positive" philosophies of modern times, are ingenious and valuable. We do not accept all Mr. Thompson's philosophical or theological views. He seems to us to waver somewhat in his own mind between the systems of Cousin and Hamilton, now yielding to the one and then to the other ; so that his reasoning occasionally becomes perplexed ; yet he is everywhere so candid and so cautious, that no truly intelligent reader can fail to make the necessary corrections. In this respect, however, Dr. Tulloch's work is more satisfactory. We know not, in fact, where to find a more thorough course of argument, for the existence and attributes of a supreme creative power and intelligent governor of the universe. Dr. Tulloch is everywhere consistent with himself. His style is clear, terse, and vigorous ; his logic precise and rigid ; and his general views both profound and philosophical.

Upon the relations between natural and revealed religions, or more strictly, between the teachings of Nature and of the Holy Scriptures, both of these learned gentlemen have said some excellent things. On the great and vexed questions pertaining to the origin of evil, the freedom of the will, and Divine Providence, sometimes spoken of as general or as special providence, they hold discriminating, and, in our opinion, scriptural views. Not perhaps strictly Calvinistic, they are certainly evangelical, maintaining, in no ambiguous terms, the great doctrines of the Gospel pertaining to the ruin and the redemption of man.

As to Mr. Walker's new work, it may be sufficient to say, that, while it will not enhance the reputation which he has gained by his "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," a new and improved edition of which has just appeared from the press of Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, it will not seriously detract from it. The author, however, is less familiar with the literature and philosophy of the subject which, in his second work, he has undertaken to discuss. The style is not as simple, nor even as accurate, as that of his first work. It has a more ambitious tone. He is not as much at home in the theories of Comte and others, to which he makes some reference. By not doing justice to his opponents, he scarcely does justice to himself in this respect. Still, he makes several important suggestions on the subject of the divine existence and government, and has supplied a sufficiently satisfactory

refutation of the Development Theory, as taught in the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." The second part of his work, in which he passes to the question of revealed religion, is to us more interesting and valuable. He confounds, indeed, or rather confuses somewhat, natural with moral law, between which there are important points of difference, and reasons too exclusively from mere natural or mathematical relations to those of a spiritual kind, to be entirely satisfactory; but the general scope and spirit of his argument are admirable. We must, however, frankly confess that we vastly prefer his "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," which is one of the best practical books, of the kind to which it belongs, in the English language. Without indulging in any uncertain speculations, yet without assuming too much, it presents a clear, common-sense argument for the truth and excellence of our holy religion, which any candid mind can appreciate. We have occasionally loaned it to a sincere inquirer, and always found that it produced more or less good effect. In one case it was the principal means, under God, of rescuing an interesting young man from the vortex of infidelity.

Mr. Walker, in the second part of his new work, says some striking things on what he calls the "compensatory merit" of Christ, which deserve the attention of theologians. The following is a specimen of his mode of thinking upon this subject :

"In the case of each individual that is restored to obedience" (by means of the sacrifice of Christ), "his own sinful habits, whether produced by his own sinful propensities or by the influence of others, are broken, and a countervailing influence is established which will in the end eradicate the evil from the heart. The effect of a man's sin in other minds does not flow backward, but forward. The stream of evil that one man originates in the mind of others, runs forward in the life history of individuals towards the end of time. Suppose an individual pursuing his own inclination to them, and affected at the same time by my bad example; he is arrested in his life of disobedience, and now truly believes in Christ. The character and love of Jesus becoming operative by faith, changes his will—a will strongly determined by natural inclination, and strengthened in that determination by my example. So the power of Christ's merit meets the aggregate of evil in penitents, whether that evil be produced by their own evil inclinations, or by the influence of others. It reaches the sources of demerit, and substitutes a countervailing power in the heart. If, then, in the progress of human history, those evil effects which I and others have occasioned, should be met as they flow on in the minds of men, and when met, be counteracted, my evil would be removed from the system of which I form a part, and the law of the system would have nothing against me.

"Now history declares, and the Bible frequently and explicitly affirms the great truth, that the fountain of love opened at Calvary sends forth a stream that augments in volume and power; checked at times, but then again bursting the barrier, and flowing onward in the course of time. The flowing blood of Jesus, purifying from sin, is the rich and affecting symbol of this divine efficacy, which is finally to fill the earth, to take away the sins of the world! The time therefore will actually come, when all the effects of my sin upon myself, and all the effects of my sin in others, which remain in the current of the world's history, will be met and counteracted by the power of love exhibited in the sacrifice of Christ. The first Adam as a living being origi-

nated a stream of evil, which descended in the life-flow of the race ; the second Adam as a life-giving spirit originated a stream of mercy, which meets the dark current and sweetens it into love. Thus the flow of the love fountain will in the end purify the earth from sin and uncleanness" (pp. 196-7).

In concluding our notice of these books, we may be permitted to remark, that one grand difficulty with the method of philosophical discussion which they adopt arises from their abstract or logical character. They reason sometimes too little from facts and too much from assumptions, and hence it often happens that their abstract conclusions, fairly and logically deduced from their premises, do not in all respects correspond to the facts in the case. For example, assume the principle that the Gospel is *in all respects* a power of counteracting the sin of the individual not only in himself, but in society or the race, and apply it logically and simply as an abstract assumption to the sin of Adam, and you reach a conclusion far beyond what facts or the word of God appear to warrant. For his sin, the type and occasion of all the sin in this fallen world, must, on the assumption referred to, be counteracted not only in individuals, but in the race, and this not only at one time or in one place, but in all times and in all places. The reasoning here proceeds *mathematically*, and demands a conclusion as wide as the premises. No exceptions and modifications as in moral reasoning, or reasoning from concrete realities, which are every-day facts, are admissible. The fact is, an algebraic formula will not apply here ; and hence all Mr. Walker's "algebraic" compensatory power, upon which he reasons (p. 189), falls to the ground. In this sense "supernatural merit, compensatory for human demerit," cannot in the proper sense of the words be shown to "balance the moral system, and bring the sum of the superior and inferior agencies into accordance with the claims of the legal principle," and thus by *compensation* and *rectification* settle the account. If, indeed, the language is used figuratively and the proper discriminations are made, all well ; but this ought to be distinctly understood. Otherwise such mathematical equations, as in the case of Spinoza, may be carried far beyond the bounds which believers in the Bible or in the practical reality of things ever dreamed of. It is in this way, as Coleridge ("Aids to Reflection") suggests, that the more *logically* sometimes we reason upon religious matters, the more absurd and dangerous our conclusions.

The Skeptical Era in Modern History ; or, the Infidelity of the Eighteenth Century the Product of Spiritual Despotism. By T. M. Post. (New York : C. Scribner. 1856. 12mo, pp. 264.)

Dr. Post is a clear thinker and a forcible writer. He has treated the subject, in the volume before us, with signal ability. He begins with an exhibition of the fact of the awful eclipse of Faith which has occurred in these modern times, setting forth, in a clear and masterly manner, its phases and its progress. Then he passes to consider its causes. Here he treats first of those causes which he regards as secondary, such as the low state of morality and the general licentiousness of the age of Louis XIV. ; the long period of

religious strife which preceded the revolution in philosophy, inaugurated by Bacon in physics, and by Des Cartes in metaphysics, and the Reformation in religion under Luther; and the impulse given to commerce, and the consequent predominance of the idea of wealth. Having discussed these points, the author next proceeds to what he calls the *fons et origo malorum*, viz., despotism, civil and spiritual. He lays the greater stress, however, upon the latter. He finds the great cause of modern unbelief in the spiritual despotism of Rome. In confirmation of this view, he dwells with special emphasis on the religious history of France, and then passes to a survey of the other Catholic countries of Europe. We give a part of the author's summing up of his argument in his own words:

"In attempting to trace the great defection of Christendom from the Christian faith during the last two centuries, we think we find their cause to be rather *practical* than *speculative*, more *moral* than *intellectual*, less *theological* than *ecclesiastical*. *The religious insurrection of nations was political and social, rather than metaphysical*. Their revolt was less from Christianity than the Church, or at least it was from Christianity *because of the Church*. It was less a quarrel with dogma than with life. So it was then: so it is now, and so it will be to the end. The world will read the living epistles of Christianity, more than even the written word. And its faith will be determined by the exhibition Christianity may make of itself in the life of individuals, communions, and communities, more than in the schools of philosophy, or the halls of theologic debate. And we venture to predict that if the faith of the world ever suffers again a similar disaster, it will be from similar causes; it will be not on pantheism, materialism, fatalism, pelagianism, but on some great MORAL APOSTASY OR PRACTICAL WRONG, that primarily, at least, it will be shipwrecked. Christianity then seemed to have allied itself with atrocious wrongs in society, to have become the champion of old and intolerable abuses and absurdities. And as men could not but distrust a religion which seemed to be in conflict with their conscience and moral sense, so they were compelled to hate one which threw itself across the path of human progress, opposed itself to social amelioration, and conspired with the oppressors and libticides of the world" (pp. 257, 258).

We think Dr. Post has effectually met the charge, so often made by Romanists, that the infidelity of modern times is due to the development of Protestant ideas. We commend his book to thoughtful men of all parties. It exhibits a thorough mastery of the Philosophy of History, and is every way an able performance. Perhaps the style is a little florid, but even this is adapted to popular effect, and may serve to give greater currency to the author's comprehensive generalizations and powerful reasoning.

India, Ancient and Modern: With a particular account of the state and prospects of Christianity. By DAVID O. ALLEN, D.D., Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 8vo, pp. 618.)

Dr. Allen was for more than twenty years a missionary of the American Board in India. He was led by the frequent inquiries made of him here, in reference to matters pertaining to that region, to the conviction that a work which should afford a comprehensive view of its geography, history, political institutions, social life, and religion, would be acceptable to the Ameri-

can public. Most of the English works relating to India are confined to the period of the English rule, and to the countries where that rule has been exercised. The aim of Dr. Allen has been to give the reader a comprehensive view of the whole country, and to furnish a compend of its history from the earliest times until the present. The chapter on the propagation of Christianity in India presents a rapid glance at the various efforts made to plant the Gospel there, from the days of the apostles till the modern age of missions.

Dr. Allen assigns several reasons for depending chiefly on the preaching of the Gospel by native preachers, for the conversion of the people. Amongst these reasons he mentions the enervating effects of the climate on Americans and Europeans, the nature and number of the languages, the cheapness of such an agency, &c. We heartily concur in this view of the author. We have long been of the opinion that one chief part of missionary work in all heathen lands, must be to raise up bands of native preachers, to labor among their brethren.

This will prove an acceptable work. Though it cannot lay claim to a very high degree of literary merit, it is a plain, sensible, and greatly condensed account of a country and a people occupying a large place in the history of the past, and identified with the best hopes of Christians for the renovation of the race. It is beautifully printed, and is, on the whole, a work of more than ordinary value.

The Life of Rev. Robert Newton, D.D. By THOMAS JACKSON. (New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1855. 12mo, pp. 427.)

Dr. Newton was a remarkable man. He was not so much distinguished for the splendor of his genius or for philosophical depth, as for the general symmetry of his character, and the solid common sense which was one of his most marked intellectual features. He was a man of profound piety, and as simple and transparent as the light of noonday. He rarely preached without seeing some good result of his labors. He was probably one of the most laborious ministers of modern times. It seems almost incredible that he could have borne up during so many years under the incessant labors which his friend, the venerable author of these memoirs, records of him. Dr. Jackson, who is now a Professor in the English Wesleyan College, is a veteran biographer, having already written the lives of Charles Wesley, the poet, and Richard Watson, the great theologian of Methodism. In this instance he has executed his task in a delightful manner, and produced one of the best religious biographies we have seen for many a day. He has made use of Dr. Newton's letters and papers, to illustrate, not to overlay, the narrative. In this respect he presents a model for the writers of biography. We have read this volume with deep interest, and we trust not without profit. We wish every minister in our denomination could read it.

Napoleon at St. Helena. Interesting Anecdotes and Remarkable Conversations of the Emperor, during the Five and a Half Years of his Captivity.

By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. (New York : Harper & Brothers. 1855. Imperial 8vo, pp. 662.)

This ample volume, which is compiled from the works of O'Meara, Las Casas, Montholon, and others, is properly a companion to the author's History of Napoleon. The fallen Emperor, during the period of his exile, gave utterance to some of the sagest reflections on nearly every subject of human interest. These were recorded by the various persons in attendance upon him, and have been published to the world. But the original publications are so voluminous, and contain so much that is of comparatively minor importance, that Mr. Abbott wisely conceived the plan of culling from each what is most valuable, and combining the result in a single volume. He has executed his design in an able and satisfactory manner. The volume is beautifully printed, and, like the Life of Napoleon, by the same author, splendidly illustrated.

A Child's History of the United States. By JOHN BONNER. (In two volumes. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1855. 16mo, pp. 308, 326.)

This admirable history is after the manner of Dickens' "Child's History of England." It has been executed with good judgment and commendable care. It is just the book to put into the hands of children.

Light and Lore. A Sketch of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D. By REV. WILLIAM A. HALLOCK. (New York : American Tract Society. 1855. 12mo, pp. 556.)

Dr. Edwards was an earnest Christian, a laborious and faithful pastor, and a zealous promoter of various Christian reforms. He commenced his public career as pastor of the South Congregational Church, in Andover, thence he removed to Boston, and took charge of the Salem church ; he was next Secretary of the American Temperance Union, then President of Andover Theological Seminary, which post he vacated to become Secretary of the American and Foreign Sabbath Union. This last office he held for several years, and vacated it only a few years before his death. "He was a good man, full of faith and the Holy Ghost." Dr. Hallock has given us a very edifying and useful account of his active life.

Cyclopedia of American Literature ; Embracing Personal and Critical Notices of Authors, and Selections from their Writings, from the earliest period to the present day. By EVERT A. DUYCKINCK and GEORGE L. DUYCKINCK. (In two volumes. Vol. I. New York : C. Scribner. 1855. Imperial 8vo, pp. 674.) We have looked with interested expectation for the appearance of the work, the first volume of which is now before us. It relates to a department of our national history which seems hitherto to have attracted but little attention. The plan of the authors has been to include not only professed authors, but those also who have written on the various topics of practical import which have agitated our people during the varying scenes and

trials of our former history. They have also included the productions of those who, though born abroad, have produced their works on our soil.

The volume before us is chiefly occupied with the writers and literature of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. The authors have gleaned these fields with rare patience and industry, and we think have worked up the results with equal judgment and good taste. They wisely determined to make their work comprehensive rather than critical; hence many writers who made their mark on their times by other means than their pens, have been admitted, though a critical estimate of the literary value of their productions would have excluded them from such a collection. The authors have occasionally been betrayed into an error, but this was inevitable in traversing so vast and obscure a field. The wonder is that their mistakes are so few, and they have collected so much that is rare and curious that they may well be pardoned for any slight omissions or misapprehensions. We have found this volume deeply interesting. More than this, we have felt a sense of pride in view of the fulness and excellence of our early literature.

Evenings with the Romanists; with an Introductory Chapter on the Moral Results of the Romish System. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. With Introductory Notice, by STEPHEN H. TYNG, D.D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo, pp. 479.) This is a book of some mark, on a subject which necessarily occupies a large share of attention, both in this country and in England. It purports to be a report of conversations between a Protestant and a Romanist, in reference to the dogmas of the papal church. It embraces a review of all the leading tenets, rites, and practices of Romanism, as set forth by the Councils and Fathers of that Hierarchy. We believe that Mr. Seymour intends to state fairly and fully not only the views of Romanists, but the arguments by which their ablest polemics have defended them. To these he opposes the ideas of Protestantism, and the grounds on which they rest. We are willing to rest the vindication of Protestantism on the grounds which he assumes. He is evidently master of the whole subject in dispute, and his work must bear no mean part in the great debate now going on between the two great forces of Spiritual Freedom and Spiritual Despotism. Mr. Seymour's introductory chapter is specially valuable. Its object is to show what Romanism is by its fruits in those countries where it predominates. The comparison which the author institutes between the practical morality of Protestant and Catholic countries is profoundly suggestive. We thank Messrs. Carter for issuing this work in its complete form, a Philadelphia publisher having put forth a mutilated edition. This volume is a faithful reprint of the author's English edition.

The Works of Philo Judæus, the contemporary of Josephus, translated from the Greek. By C. D. YONGE, B.A. (In 4 vols., 12mo. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brothers & Co. 1855.) We have before alluded to this English version of the works of the celebrated Jewish Pla-

tonist. The works of Philo the Jew have exerted no slight influence on the Christian philosophy of succeeding ages, and they still have a value, as relating the history and developments of speculative opinions. We think that Mr. Yonge has made a faithful translation. Scholars, both in England and America, will thank him for thus bringing the writings of one so distinguished within the reach of all.

The Baptist Denomination. Now in press, and will soon be issued by the enterprising publishers, Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman, 115 Nassau Street, New York, an original work by Rev. D. C. HAYNES, entitled, *The Baptist Denomination*.

This manual will prove a valuable contribution to our denominational literature; and whatever shall do such service we hail with gladness, and take pleasure in commending to our readers. Mr. Haynes has bestowed much labor in preparing the work for the press. He has brought together, in a connected chain, and condensed, much valuable and interesting information respecting the identity of the Baptist Denomination with the primitive church; the obligations of the world to the Baptists, and the duty of Baptists to the world; the doctrines, practice, and polity of Baptists; their sufferings for conscience' sake; schools of learning; missionary institutions, &c. Judging from the character of the work, and the growing interest of the members of our churches in the history of the denomination, the book of Mr. Haynes will be generally sought and perused with pleasure.

The Sabbath Institution. By Rev. FREDERICK DENISON, A.M.

We are pleased to see the Sabbath Institution traced, with much ability, through all its history, from Eden to the present time. This Mr. Denison has done, and his little book will meet the wants of many, who have failed to find just what they desired in previous works on the Sabbath Institution. We commend this work to the friends of the Saviour generally; believing that a careful perusal of it will tend to render the Sabbath more intensely precious to them, both as members of the household of faith and citizens of these United States.

The Congregational Psalmist. A Collection of Psalm Tunes adapted to a Selection of Hymns contained in the Psalmist, and intended for Congregational Use in Baptist Churches.

The design of this carefully arranged volume is excellent. The work cannot fail to facilitate the coming of that day, when our worshipping assemblies will join their respective choirs in this delightful part of divine service.

We have long felt that a reformation was called for at the very point contemplated by the preparation of this work. Why should not all the people praise God? Why should not all the youth be taught to sing, and thus early be preparing to join the assembly in songs of praise? Choirs may not be dispensed with. They may continue to be the conductors of public singing; yet the congregation should be able to unite with the choir, in

sustaining this part of the service of the House of God. Our pastors and people should take a deeper interest in promoting congregational singing. It is ardently hoped that the compiler, Rev. J. R. Scott, and the publisher, Wm. N. Sage, of Rochester, N. Y., will find a rich reward in furnishing this volume for our churches.

ART. IX.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. have just issued two volumes of Mr. Prescott's *History of Philip the Second, King of Spain*. (8vo, pp. 618, 610.) We received this work at so late a day, that we are unable to speak of it with any degree of particularity. The theme is generally understood to be a favorite one with the accomplished historian. He has been many years engaged in collecting the materials for the work, and he seems to have been uncommonly fortunate in his researches. The History will doubtless prove worthy of the great facilities enjoyed by the author, and of his great reputation. The style is dignified, free, and elegant. The work is issued in a beautiful typographical dress. We propose to treat it more at large in a future number of this journal. Messrs. P. S. & Co. also issue new editions of Mr. Prescott's previous works.

We have received from Sheldon, Lamport & Co., in sheets, a work of considerable importance, and which we think is destined to create something of a sensation in theological circles. We refer to Dr. Sheldon's *Sin and Redemption*. (12mo, pp. 332.) We have not yet found time to examine it with sufficient care to entitle us to be heard respecting its merits. We prefer, therefore, simply to announce it here, reserving a deliberate expression of our estimate of it for our next number.

D. Appleton & Co. have just published a valuable work, entitled *Village and Farm Cottages*, designed to illustrate the requirements of American village homes. Our people need hints in reference to the application of art and taste in the structure of private and public buildings. We hail this work as an effort in the right direction. It is a beautifully printed octavo of about two hundred pages, illustrated with one hundred engravings. Messrs. D. A. & Co. announce a new *Dictionary of Biography*, edited by Dr. Hawks; and the *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, compiled from the papers of Commodore M. C. Perry, U. S. N., by Francis L. Hawks, D. D. (1 vol., 8vo.), with numerous illustrations.

J. S. Redfield announces for publication Mr. Kenrick's *Ancient Phœnicia*, a work similar in character to his "Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs." Like the latter, which enjoys a deservedly high reputation, it is said to contain a condensed though full statement of all that is known of the country,

its people, institutions, arts, &c. It will doubtless be a work of great value. Mr. Redfield also announces Napier's *Peninsular War*, in 5 vols., 12mo, with portraits and plans. This work is regarded as a standard, and the public will be glad to see it in a form so portable.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, announce a third volume of *Orations and Speeches*, by Edward Everett; *The Life and Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, in 2 vols., 8vo; *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*, by Prof. Agassiz, in 10 quarto volumes; and a new work by Prof. Bowen, on *Political Economy*, as applied to the conditions and wants of the American people.

Harper & Brothers have just issued a new edition of Talfourd's *Life and Works of Charles Lamb*, including the "Final Memorials." The whole is comprised in two beautifully printed 12mo volumes. They announce as nearly ready for publication the third and fourth volumes of *Macaulay's History of England*. Among the other more important announcements of this house, we notice Squier's *Notes on Central America*, particularly the States of Honduras and San Salvador; Helps' *Spanish Conquest in America*, and its relation to the History of Slavery and the Government of the Colonies; and Ewbank's *Life in Brazil*, or a Journal of a Visit to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm.

ENGLAND.

We see announced as nearly ready for publication, in England, the following works:—*Life and Writings of Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D.*, with Selections from his Works; *A True Account of the Life and Death of Sir John King*, Counsellor-at-Law to King Charles II., from an original MS.; a new *Life of Milton*, by Keightley; Froude's *History of England*, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth; Massey's *History of the Reign of George the Third*, in four volumes; vols. II. and III. of Palgrave's *History of Normandy and of England*; vols. IV. and V. of Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*; a new work, by the late Bishop of Lincoln, *The Church of Christ during the First Three Centuries*; Marsden's eighth and concluding part of *The History of Christian Churches and Sects*, from the Earliest Ages of Christianity; *Exeter Hall Lectures*, by leading Divines; *The Denyer Theological Prize Essay* of Rev. J. S. Gelderdale; Butler's *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy*, in 2 vols., 8vo; Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers*, in 2 vols., 8vo, and his *Political Economy* (the latter now first published); Sehler's *Initiatory Treatise on Philosophy*; and several volumes of sermons, from some of the leading Divines of the country.

THE CONTINENT.

A new volume of the celebrated "*Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantiæ*" has just been published in Germany. It is the forty-eighth vol. of this important collection, containing vol. III. of *Nicephori Gregoræ Byzantina*.

Hist., et ult. Rec. J. Bekker. The first two volumes were published in 1829 and 1830. The present volume contains the index for the whole.

Prof. Tischendorf has just published "*Anecdota Sacra et Profana ex Oriente et Occidente allata sive notitia codicum Græcorum, Orabiorum, Syriacorum, Copticorum, Hebriacorum, Æthiopicorum, Latinorum, cum excerptis multis maximam partem Græcis et triginta quinque Scripturarum antiquissimarum speciminebis.*" (Lipsæ: Graul.) The work is divided into two parts. The first consists of a description of the MSS. which the author collected during his two Eastern Tours in 1849 and in 1853, and now deposited in the public libraries of Leipsic and Dresden, and in the British Museum and Bodleian Library. The second part gives extracts from MSS. in the different libraries of Europe, which contain matter illustrative of the Patristic times and literature.

Dr. R. R. Hagenbach has just issued "*Die Christliche Kirche vom vierten bis zum sechsten Jahrhundert.*" This volume forms the second part of the author's "*Vorlesungen über die ältere Kirchengeschichte.*" The Lectures on the History of the first Three Centuries were published in 1853, and were everywhere received with great favor.

Dr. H. A. Daniel has given to the world an additional volume of his "*Thesaurus hymnologicus, sive hymnorum, canticorum, sequentiarum collectio amplissima. Carmina collegit, apparatu critico ornavit, veterum interpretum notas selectas suasque adjecit.*" Tom. IV., supplementa ad Tom. I., cont., gr. 8vo.

Dr. Carl P. Fischer: "*Grundzüge des Systems der Philosophie, oder: Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften.* 3. (letzter) Bd.: *Die Wissenschaft der Idee des absoluten Geistes, oder der speculativen Theologie.* A. u. d. T.; *Grundzüge des Systems der speculativen Theologie, oder der Religions philosophie.*"

Dr. Karl F. Delitzsch has written a work entitled "*System der Biblischen Psychologie.*"

Dr. J. H. Friedlich has produced another Life of Jesus: "*Geschichte des Lebens Jesu Christi, mit chronologischen und andern historischen Untersuchungen*" (gr. 8vo).

E. Eckert: "*Der Tempel Salomonis d. p. General Charte d. Arbeitsplanes d. Revolutionsbandes*" M. Erklärungswort a. 13 Neben-Zeichngn. zur tech. Erklärg (gr. 4).

Those wishing to send orders for books, will find it to their advantage to notice the advertisement of WILLIAM K. CORNWELL, in the following sheets. Mr. Cornwell has extensive acquaintance with members of the trade, and will take particular pains to supply every article in the line procurable at the time the order is received.